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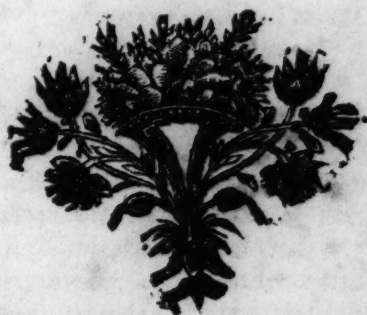
T U L L Y's

OFFICES.

In ENGLISH.

The FIFTH EDITION Corrected.

By Mr. THO. COCKMAN.



D U B L I N :

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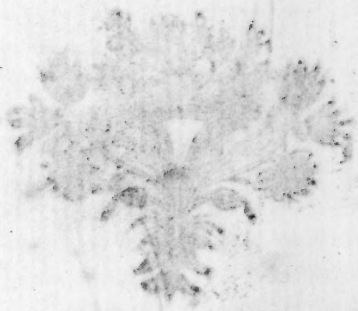
For JOHN TYLER, at the Corner of Crow-street,
in Dame's-street. MDCCXXXII.

TULLY'S
OFFICES

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The Fifth Edition Corrected.

By Mr. T. H. COCKMAN.





PREFACE.



THE Author of this Book is so well known, that it would be altogether needless to give any Account of him in this Place. As for the Book it self, it has always been looked upon as one of the perfectest Pieces of his Writings, and one of the noblest Systems of Moral Precepts, that have ever been left us by the ancient Heathens ; and not without Reason : There appears all along in it so great a Love and Concern for Virtue, which he recommends to his Son with all imaginable Earnestness ; so deep a Sense of the Obligations to Honesty and Aversion for every thing that is contrary to it ; such an admirable Inclination for the Virtues of Plainness, Truth, and Sincerity ; and such a generous Contempt of all shuffling, mean, and under-hand Dealings ; such Piety towards his native Country, and hearty Concern for the Calamities it groaned under, and withal, so much Hatred and Detestation for those Men, who had been the Causes of its Misfortunes ; and, in a Word, so many excellent Rules of Life, with reference to our Duty either to God or Men, and to these in their several Capacities and Relations, whether of Kindred, Friends, or Benefactors, as have justly recommended it to the Esteem of all the World, and given it the first Place among the eminent and most celebrated Writings of this Kind. The Scope and Design of it, in his own Words, is, To lay down some Directions and Pre-

cepts of good Living, according to which, upon all Occasions, Men ought to govern their Lives and Actions; so that whatever State of Life a Man is in, whether Publick or Private, of Governour or Governed, of Prosperity or Adversity, of old Age or Youth, he will here find Rules how he ought to demean himself in any of those Capacities; and will be told what that is, which the Dignity and Excellence of his own Nature requires in regard to himself, and what the several Sorts of Alliance or Society among Men demand, in relation to other People: So that while other Parts of Learning and Knowledge are most times confined either to certain Ages, certain Times, or certain Places, this is of general and universal Use; it is (as our Author says upon another Subject) necessary for Youth as well as old Age; it directs in Prosperity as well as in Adversity; it is a Delight to us at home, and a Companion for us abroad; *Pernoctat nobiscum, peregrinatur, rusticatur.*

It was principally designed for the Use of his own Son, whom he had sent to Athens for the Benefit of Study, while all things were in Disorder and Confusion at Rome, after POMPEY's Defeat in the Pharsalian Field; but he tells us he has purposely framed it in such a Manner, as that it might be equally serviceable to all other People. The Time of its writing was after CÆSAR was killed, when MARK ANTHONY and his Adherents had got the Power into their Hands, and CICERO (as he complains at the Beginning of the third Book) was by wicked Arms driven away from the City, and forced to betake himself to his private Retirements. At this Time he thought to have gone to Athens to his Son, and was accordingly on his Journey, when he was called back again by the loud Cries of his Country, as he intimates in the Conclusion of this Discourse, and explains more at large in the Beginning of his first Philippick. He returned to Rome upon this Recall, but found things very different from what he expected when he came thither: Hereupon he withdrew himself to his House in the Country, resolving to wait for some fitter Opportunity of being serviceable to the Republick. From this Retirement he sent these Precepts in writing to his Son, which he designed to have given him by Word of Mouth, had he arrived at Athens. The Method he

he proceeds in, is this which follows. After a short Discourse by way of Preface to his Son, and fixing the right Notion of the Subject he is to treat about, he endeavours to beget in him a Love of Honesty, by representing it as amiable and commendable in it self, and agreeable to the Nature and Reason of Mankind. He divides it into four Parts, or general Heads, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, which are usually called the four Cardinal Virtues; and discourses in order upon every one of them, with all their several Species or Branches, and the Vices that stand in opposition to them. And this he does, not in a dry and scholastical Manner, by enquiring nicely wherein the strict Nature of the several Virtues consists, and which of their opposite Vices they are nearest to, (which my Lord BACON somewhere very ingeniously observes, is like a Master's setting a Boy a Copy to write after, without ever shewing him how he should make his Letters) but by laying down such Rules under each of these Heads, as may direct Men in the Practice of the Duties required of them. Afterwards he compares them with one another, and shews in what Order they are to be performed by us; as Justice for Example, before Knowledge, Fortitude, &c. All these Virtues, when taken together, make up the general Notion of Honestum; and when taken separately, are so many Branches or distinct Members of it.

But seeing something else beside Virtue or Honesty is necessarily requisite, or at least useful and convenient, for our Well-being here; such as are the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life, viz. Riches, Glory, Honours, Success in Business, &c. which are all comprehended under the Notion of the Word Profit; therefore in the second Book he endeavours to shew how these are to be obtained: And having made it appear, That all the Advantages Men enjoy, and the Evils they endure, are principally owing to Men themselves, from thence he infers, That the Way whereby we may obtain the former, and avoid the latter, is to procure the Endeavours of Men on our Side, so as to have them ready to assist us upon Occasion. This he shews can be done no other way, than by performing those Duties which Honesty requires of us; viz. by Prudence and Wisdom, by

Justice and Integrity in our Words and Actions, whereby Men are drawn to place their Trust and Confidence in us; (where also he particularly shews, that Pretending and Hypocrisy can never get a Man any lasting Honour) by Kindness and Beneficence, Courtesy and Affability, which beget in Men a Love and Affection towards us; and lastly, by Fortitude, Contempt of Money, &c. which are Virtues that draw Men to Wonder and Admiration, and make them think us Persons that really deserve to be promoted.

But because Riches, Honours, Power, and the like, which seem to be a Profit and Advantage to us, may often interfere with Virtue and Duty, which really are such; therefore in the third Book he endeavours to shew, How a good Man ought to carry himself in such a Case; and makes it appear, that Riches, Honours, Kingdoms, and Empires are far from being truly an Advantage to any Man, whenever they are gotten by unlawful Means; and that no honest Man would do any thing that is contrary to Conscience or Honesty, tho' sure to obtain even the whole World by it. All which he builds upon this Foundation, That the Goods of the Soul, viz. Virtue and Honesty, are, if not the only, yet infinitely the greatest Goods; (which is a Principle allowed of by all the wiser Philosophers :) From whence it must follow, that whoever parts with these upon the Account of any Riches, or other seeming advantage, be it never so great, must needs be a Loser; for he forfeits a greater for the sake of a less Good, and in hopes of getting a seeming, deprives himself of a real Interest. Here he goes over each of the Virtues mentioned in the first Book, and proves that nothing can be a Man's true Profit, tho' it should bring him all the appearing Advantages in the World, and tho' he were sure to keep it secret from the Eyes of all Men, and even of the Gods themselves, that is contrary to the Duties of Prudence and Justice, of Fortitude and Moderation. In a Word, here are Rules for the Government of our Lives in relation to God, our Neighbours, and Ourselves, such as are deservedly admired in a Heathen, and might have well become even a Christian Writer. He tells us, that to procure the Favour of the Former, we must live a religious and holy Life: That, as

P R E F A C E.

v

to the Second, there is an Alliance or Society between all Mankind, whereby each Particular is obliged to do his best, toward promoting the Happiness and Welfare of the whole Body, and rather to die than do another any Injury: That, as to Ourselves, we should always consider the Dignity and Excellence of our reasonable Nature, and take Care that we never be guilty of any Action, that may any wise stain or unbecome its Honour: This, as he goes on, will quickly teach us, how base a thing it is to dissolve in Luxury, Softness, &c. — Thus have I endeavoured to present the Reader with a general View of this incomparable Treatise: Should I proceed to tell him, that some of the most eminent Writers in the World have owed great Part of their Credit to it; that the Sanderfons, Grotiuses, Puffendorfs, &c. are particularly obliged to it for their Skill in determining moral Cases, perhaps he should think me rather zealous, than impartial, in my Account if it; tho' I can assure him it is no more than what is strictly true. The first of those great Persons (as the Writer of his Life tells us) had it all by Heart; and how much use the two latter have made of it, I leave those to judge who have been conversant with their Writings. — But the Book can much better recommend it self by its own true Value, than I can do by any thing I am able to say of it; thither therefore I shall refer the Reader for his further Satisfaction, after I have told him in a few Words, what has been attempted in this new Translation.

I have endeavoured to express what I conceived to be the Sense and Meaning of the Author, in as full and comprehensive Words as I was able, attending all along to the principal Scope and Design of his Discourse, rather than to the particular Words and Expressions. I have taken Care however to let none of his Words escape, without giving the Sense of them in our own Language; so far from that, as that I rather expect to be condemned, on the other Hand, for explaining some of them a great deal too much, and spending a Line perhaps, or more, in that, which the Author expressed in but one single Word: But whoever considers the Nature of the Latin Tongue, and our Author's way of writing, especially in this Book, will easily perceive that it was necessary for me to do so, otherwise

the English would have been almost as hard to be understood as the Latin: For the Truth of which I refer the Reader to Chap. 35, 36, 37. Book. 1. not to name innumerable other Places. I have had a peculiar Eye all along to the Method of the Discourse, and the Connexion or Dependance of one Part of it upon another; which because it is oftentimes very obscure, I have generally added the distinguishing Terms of first, second, &c. and where that could not be done, have sometimes added a Line perhaps, to shew how he passes from one thing to another: But this I have generally told the Reader of, or else have printed what is so added in a different Letter; as may be seen at the Beginning of Chap. 6. and the End of Chap. 7. Book 1. As to some things, that are of little or no Consequence toward understanding the Author, as if I have translated Cæna, Dinner; Hominis honorati & principis, a Gentleman, or a Person of Honour; Convivium, sitting at a Table, and over a Glass of Wine, &c. or if in a philosophical Discourse, as this is, I have sometimes made use of an unusual Word, I suppose they will be counted not unwarrantable Liberties, but such as are commonly taken by Translators. If in the Main I have hit upon the true Sense and Meaning of my Author, and expressed it in such clear and intelligible Terms, as may make the Reader see what is the Force of his Arguments, the Reasonableness of his Precepts, the Fitness of his several Illustrations and Examples, with those other Virtues which have rendered this Book so deservedly famous, I have obtained what I principally designed by this Attempt.

I have gone according to that Division of Chapters which is usually received, because the Book has been quoted according to it, and to have made any Alteration would but have bred Confusion. I have put before each Chapter a Summary of what is contained in it; and to the whole have subjoined an Index, referring to the principal Matters that are mentioned in the Book. The Notes which went along with the former Impressions, are here purposefully omitted; that those who do not need them, may have TULLY'S OFFICES pure and entire, in a small Volume; but are intended to be printed again in due time, for the Benefit of others. I have made some use of Sir R.

L'ESTRANGE'S

P R E F A C E.

vij

L'ESTRANGE's English, and especially Mr. Du B.'s French Translation; which I gratefully acknowledge. In fine, I am sure my Design was commendable; the Success of it I must leave to the Reader's Judgment: I shall only say, That as I look for no Honour from any thing I can do, more especially of this Nature; so I hope that however I may expect a Pardon.



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TULLY's

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.





TULLY'S OFFICES.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Cicero exhorts his Son, a young Student at Athens, not to forget his Latin, tho he was in a Greek University; but to mix the Studies of both those Languages, and also learn to write both as a Philosopher and an Orator. To this Purpose he advises him to read his Works, as having equally written in each of those Kinds, which none of the Grecians had ever done. But he modestly adds, That he thinks they could have done it, but that they applied themselves wholly to one of them.

Dear Son MARCUS,



HO' after a Year's Study under CRATIPPUS, and that at such a Place as Athens, you cannot but have abundantly furnished your self with Knowledge in the Doctrines and Rules of Philosophy; having had the Advantage of so eminent a Master to supply you with Learning, and a City that affords you such excellent Examples: Yet I should think it convenient for you (which is a Method I took for my

my own Improvement) always to mingle some *Latin* with your *Greek*, in the Study of Eloquence as well as Philosophy; that you may be equally perfect in both those Ways of Writing, and make your self Master of either Language. For the Furtherance of which, I am apt to imagine, I have done no inconsiderable Service to our Countrymen; so that not only those who do not understand *Greek*, but even those that *do*, will be ready to acknowledge, that my Works have been some Advantage and Help to them both in speaking and judging. Wherefore I am willing, it is true, you should learn of your present Master, the greatest Philosopher of this Age, and *learn* of him too as long as you desire it; and so long I think it is your Duty to *desire* it, as you find your self sufficiently benefited by it: But withal, I would have you to read my Writings, which very little differ from those of the Peripateticks; for both we and they profess our selves Followers, not of SOCRATES only, but of PLATO likewise. As for the Matters contained in them, use your own Judgment with Freedom and Impartiality; for I lay no Manner of Restraint upon you: Your Improvement in the *Latin* is what I chiefly aim at, which I am confident must follow from a careful Perusal of them. Nor let any one think that I am Vain or Pretending when I speak thus: For allowing some others the Precedence in Philosophy, should I assume to my self what is the Part of an Orator, *viz.* to speak suitably, methodically and handsomely upon any Subject, seeing I have spent my whole Life in that Study, I think it is no more than what I might reasonably and fairly lay claim to. I cannot but very earnestly desire you therefore, my dear CICERO, to read my Writings with Care and Diligence; not my *Orations* only, but these Pieces also that concern *Philosophy*, which are now of a Bulk almost equal to them: For tho' in the former there is more of the Force and Power of Eloquence, yet is the smooth and even Stile of the latter by no means to be neglected. And of all the *Grecians* I find not one, that has employed his Pen in both these Kinds; and been at once successful in the Language of the

the Bar, and this other more gentle and easie Stile of Philosophical Discourses: Unless DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS may be reckoned for one, who is subtle enough in his Disputes of Philosophy, but methinks in his Oratory wants that Spirit and Vehemence that is requisite; however has such a Vein of Sweetness in him, that one might know he had been THEOPHRASTUS's Scholar. Whether I have had any better Success in both these Ways, must be left to the Judgment of others to determine: I can only say that I have attempted them both. And it is my Opinion, That if ever PLATO had undertaken to plead, he would have been a most copious and powerful Orator; and if DEMOSTHENES had studied and discoursed of those things, which he learnt of PLATO, he would have done it with a great deal of Ornament and Majesty. The same I think true of ISOCRATES and ARISTOTLE; each of which, pleased with his own Way of Writing, neglected to cultivate and improve the other.

CHAP. II.

The Reasons why he writes upon this Subject. The general Use and Importance of it. All Philosophers have handled it; tho' some, by their false Notions of Happiness and Misery, utterly pervert it. What Sects they are, that have a Right to lay down any Rules or Precepts concerning it. He designs in this Work to follow the Stoicks principally. The Subject of a Discourse ought first to be defined, before we begin to say any thing upon it.

BUT having resolved to write some thing at present, and a great many others hereafter to you, I thought I could begin upon no better Argument, than that which is fittest for your Age, and most becoming my Authority as a Father: For, of all those useful and important Subjects, which Philosophers have handled so largely and accurately, the Precepts they have delivered about Offices or Duties, appear of the largest Extent and Comprehension; for they
take

take in every Part of our Lives; so that whatever we go about, whether of publick or private Affairs, whether at home or abroad, whether considered barely by ourselves, or as we stand in relation to other People, we lie constantly under an *Obligation* to some Duties; and, as all the Virtue and Credit of our Lives proceeds from the due Discharge of *This*, so all the Baseness and Turpitude of them results from the Non-observance of *It*. Now, tho' this be a Subject which all Philosophers have busied themselves about, (for who ever dared to assume that Name, without laying down some Instructions about Duty?) yet have some Sects of them given such Accounts of Man's Happiness and Misery, as destroy the very Being of Virtue and Honesty. For he that makes any thing his chiefest Good, wherein Justice or Virtue does not bear a Part, and sets up Profit, not Honesty, for the Measure of his Happiness; as long as he acts in conformity with his own Principles, and is not over-ruled by the meer Dictates of Reason and Humanity, can never do the Offices of Friendship, Justice, or Liberality: Nor can he be ever a Man of Courage, who thinks that Pain is the greatest Evil; or he of Temperance, who imagines Pleasure to be the sovereign Good. Which things are all so obvious and plain, that one would think they could never stand in need of a Dispute; however, I have largely discoursed upon them in another Work. These Sects therefore, unless they are resolved to be inconsistent with themselves, ought wholly to abstain from speaking any thing about Duties. Nor indeed can any constant, unalterable, rational Rules of them at all be given, unless it be by those who go upon this Principle, *That it is Virtue alone, or at least that chiefly, which ought to be desired for its own sake*: So that only the Stoicks, Academicks, and Peripateticks, have a Right to lay down any Rules upon this Subject; for as to the Opinion of ARISTO, PYRRHO, and HERILLUS, that has been exploded a good while ago; who might have claimed a Privilege to treat about Duties, *as well as the former three*, had they but left a Possibility of Chusing, and allow'd of at least so much

much Difference between things, as to put us into a Capacity of finding out our Duty, and distinguishing it from that which is not so. I shall follow therefore at this Time, and on this Subject more especially, the Stoicks; not as a bare Translator of them, but (according to my usual Custom) shall take out of their Stores so much, and after such a Manner, as in my own Judgment I shall think most convenient. Seeing then the whole of our following Discourse is designed to be about *Offices* or *Duties*, I think it will be necessary for me, in the first Place, to determine and fix the Signification of the Word *Office*; which I cannot but admire to find omitted by PANÆTIUS; for every clear and rational Discourse upon any Subject, ought first to begin with an Explication of that Subject, that so we may have a distinct Conception of what we are afterwards to discourse about.

CHAP. III.

The whole Subject of Duties consists of two Parts, ordinary and perfect Duties, and what they are. Panætius made but three general Heads of Deliberation, to which Cicero adds two more. The general Method he designs to take in the whole Work.

THE whole Subject of Duties then, in its greatest Latitude, comprehends under it these two Parts: The first is taken up in explaining what is *Good*, and what our *greatest Good*; the second in certain Directions and Precepts, according to which, upon all Occasions, it is our Duty to govern our Lives and Actions. To the first Part belong such Questions as these, *Whether all Duties are perfect, or not?* and, *Whether one can be greater or less than another?* with several others to the same Purpose: Not but that the Duties of this second Part, which consists in the laying down of Rules and Precepts, have some Tendency and Relation to our chiefest Good; but only it does not so plainly appear, because they seem to relate more immediately to the Government of

our Lives, and Regulation of our Manners: And these are they I design to explain in the following Treatise. There is also another Distribution of Duties, some of them being called *Middle* or Ordinary, and others *Perfect* or Compleat. To the latter, I think, we may give the Name of *Right* or *Strait*; which Sort by the *Greeks* is called *Κατὰ φύσιν*, as the former *ordinary* one *Κατὰ νόμον*. By that which we have called *Right* or *Strait*; as they explain it, is meant a *Virtue that is wholly compleat in all its Parts, without any Manner of Flaw or Imperfection*; and by that which we have call'd *Ordinary*, such a one as *a fair and reasonable Account may be given for the doing of it*. Now these *fair and reasonable Accounts* are all to be drawn from several Heads, which are by *PANÆTIUS* reduced to three, and may be called general Heads of *Deliberating* or *Doubting* concerning any Action, whether it should, or should not be done. The first is, when it is consulted or doubted, whether the Action that is under Consideration, be honest or dishonest; in which Enquiry Men are often divided between several Opinions. The second is, when it is enquired and consulted, Whether the Action, that is under Deliberation, will supply us with the Pleasures and Conveniencies of Life, furnish us with Plenty of outward things, such as Riches, Honours, Power, &c. which may put us into a Capacity of doing good to our selves, and to all those for whom we are more nearly concerned: All which Enquiry comes under the general Head of *Profit*. The third Ground or Reason of Doubting is, When that thing, which seems to be profitable for us, comes into Competition with that which is honest; for then our Interest drawing us one way, and Honesty pulling us back another, the wavering Mind is as it were torn in sunder between the two, and is racked with doubting and anxious Thoughts. There is no greater Fault in any Division, than not to take in all the several Parts of the Matter to be divided; and yet two are omitted in the now mentioned one of *PANÆTIUS*: For Men not only consult and deliberate, whether such an Action be honest or dishonest; but also, of two Honests that are both proposed to them, which is the most so; and, in like Manner, of two Profitables, which

which is the most profitable. From whence it appears, that what he thought was contained in three, ought rather to be divided into five Heads. We must then, in the first Place, discourse about *Honesty*; and this we shall do under these two Enquiries, *Whether the thing proposed be honest or dishonest?* and, *Of two that are honest, which is the most so?* which will make up the Subject of our First Book. We shall treat in our Second of *Profit or Interest* under the same Heads: And lastly, in our Third, we shall endeavour to shew, *When a seeming Advantage and Honesty come into Competition, how a good Man should determine his Judgment.*

CHAP. IV.

The Excellence of the Nature of Man above that of Brutes. How the several Virtues, Prudence, Justice, &c. are agreeable to its Dictates, and result from them. Wherein Honestum in general consists.

THE first thing then to be taken Notice of is this, That every Creature doth by Nature endeavour to preserve its own self, its Life, and Body, and to shun and avoid those things, which appear prejudicial and hurtful to it; but to seek and procure whatever is necessary for the Support of its Being, and Advancement of its Happiness, such as Food, Shelter, and the like. There is likewise common to all Sorts of Animals a Desire of Copulation, for the Continuance and Propagation of their several Species; together with a Love and Concern for their young ones. Now there is this special Difference between Men and Brutes, that the latter are governed by nothing else but Sense, never look any farther than just to what strikes and affects them at present, and have a very little, if any Concern at all, for what is past or to come. But the former are Creatures endowed with Reason, which gives them a Power to carry their Thoughts to the Consequences of things; to discover Causes before they have yet produced their Effects; to see the whole Progress, and even the first Seeds (as it were) and Appearances of them;

them; to compare like Occurrences with like, and by joyning what is past and what is to come together, to make a just Estimate of the one from the other; whereby they are able at once to take a View of their whole Lives, and accordingly make Provision for the Necessities of them. And the same Force of Reason makes all Men by Nature to love one another, and desire an Intercourse of Words and Actions. It begets in them likewise a somewhat extraordinary Love and Affection for their own Children, and strongly inclines them to frequent publick Meetings, and keep up Societies one amongst another. For the same Reason also they are very industrious to provide for the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, and that not only for themselves in particular, but for their Wives, their Children, and others whom they have a Kindness for, and are obliged to take care of; which Concern is very proper to rouse up the Spirits, and make them more vigorous and active in Business. But of all the Properties and Inclinations of Men, there is none more natural and peculiar to them, than an earnest Desire and Search after Truth. Hence it is our Minds are no sooner free from the Thoughts and Engagements of necessary Business, but we presently long to be either seeing, or hearing, or learning of something; and esteem the Knowledge of things secret and wonderful, as a necessary Ingredient of a happy Life. From whence it appears, That nothing is more agreeable and suited to the Nature and Minds of Men, than undisguised Openness, Truth and Sincerity. Next to this Love and Affection for Truth, there follows in the Soul an impatient Desire and Inclination to Superiority; so that whoever has the genuine Nature of a Man in him, will never endure to be subject to another, unless he be one that instructs, or advises, or is invested with a just and lawful Authority for the Benefit of the Publick. From whence there arises a Greatness of Soul, which sets it above all the petty Concerns and trifling Enjoyments of this present World. It is another, and that too no mean Prerogative of our reasonable Nature, that Man alone can discern all the Beauties of Order and Decency, and knows
how

how to govern his Words and Actions in conformity to them. It is he alone, that of all the Creatures observes and is pleased with the Beauty, Gracefulness, and Symmetry of Parts in the *Objects of Sense*; which Nature and Reason observing in them, from thence take Occasion to apply the same also to *those of the Mind*; and conclude that Beauty, Consistency, and Regularity, should be much more kept up in our Words and Actions; and therefore command us, that nothing be done that is effeminate or unbecoming; and that so strict a Guard be kept over every Thought and Action, as that no Lust or Filthiness be either conceived or practised by us. From these Inclinations and Instincts of Nature, arises and results that *Honestum* we are seeking for; which however little valued and esteemed it may be, is nevertheless virtuous and amiable in it self; and which we justly affirm, tho' it were commended by no one, to be yet in its own Nature truly commendable.

 CHAP. V.

The admirable Beauty of Honesty. Four general Heads of it, from which all the several Duties arise; and what the Object of each of them is, about which it is employed.

THUS, SON MARCUS, have I given you a rough Draught, and just the Out-lines, as it were, of *Honesty*; which, could she be seen in her full Beauty with mortal Eye, would make the whole World (as PLATO has said) be in love with Wisdom. Now whatever is contained under the Nation of Honesty, arises from one of these four Heads; *First*, A sagacious Enquiry and Observation for the finding out of Truth; *which may be called by the general Name of Prudence.* *Secondly*, A Care to maintain that Society and mutual Intercourse which is between Men; to render to every Man what is his Due; and to stand to one's Words in all Promises and Bargains; *Which we call Justice.* *Thirdly*, The Greatness and unshaken Resolution of a truly brave and invincible Mind; *which goes by the Name of Magnanimity.*

Magnanimity or Fortitude. And, *Lastly*, A keeping of our Words and Actions within the due Limits of Order and Decency; under which are comprehended *Temperance and Moderation*. Now every one of these several Heads, tho' they all have a mutual Connexion and Dependence upon one another, has yet its particular *Classis* (as it were) and respective Set of Duties arising from it: From that, for Example, which is mentioned first, and under which *Prudence and Wisdom* are contained, arises the Duty of seeking, contemplating, and finding out of Truth, which is the proper and peculiar Business of those Virtues; for it is then, and then alone, that we justly esteem a Man prudent and wise, when we find that he is able to see and discover the Truth of things; and of an active, vigorous, and piercing Mind, to give an Account of the Reasons of them; so that it is *Truth* that is the proper Object of both these Virtues, and that about which they are only concerned. The other three Heads more peculiarly belong to the *active Life*, and their Business lies in procuring and keeping what is useful and necessary for the Preservation of it; as in holding up mutual Love and Correspondence among Mankind; in an elevated Greatness and Strength of Mind; which appears, as in getting things profitable and pleasant for our selves and Dependants, so more especially in despising and being above them. Then as for the last, *viz.* Order, Uniformity, Moderation, and the like, it is plain they belong not only to Contemplation, but have also a respect to our outward Actions; since from keeping of *these* within the Bounds and Limits of Order and Moderation, we are said to observe what is virtuous and becoming.

C H A P. VI.

Prudence or Contemplation of Truth, the first of the general Virtues, is the nearest allied to the Nature of Man. Two Cautions concerning it. It ought to give Place to the Duties of the active Life. What it ought especially to be employed about.

HAVING thus explained how the whole Nature and Power of Honesty, is deduced from some one of these four Parts, we are now to discourse of them each in particular. And, first of *Prudence*, which is wholly taken up in the Knowledge of Truth, and has the nearest Affinity of any with the reasonable Nature of Man: For how are we all of us drawn and enticed with the Desire of Wisdom? How noble and glorious a thing do we imagine it, to excel in Knowledge? and how mean and reproachful do we count it, on the other Hand, to slip, to be in an Error, to be ignorant, or to be imposed upon? In gratifying this so natural and virtuous Inclination in the Mind of Man, there are two grand Faults to be carefully avoided: The *first* is an over-great Hastiness and Rashness in giving up our Assent, presuming that we know things before we really do so. Whoever desires (as I am sure all ought) to avoid this Error, must in all his Enquiries allow himself Time, and diligently consider the Matter with himself, before he proceeds to pass his Judgment upon it. The *second* Fault is, that a great many Men bestow abundance of Study, and a world of Pains upon very difficult and obscure Subjects, and such as, perhaps, when they are found out, are of but very little, or no Concernment. Would Men be but careful to shun these two Mistakes, whatsoever Study or Pains they might spend upon virtuous, worthy, or profitable Subjects, it would not without Reason be highly commended. Thus CAIUS SULTITIUS was heretofore praised for his Skill in Astronomy, SECT. POMPEIUS, since my Memory, for his in Geometry: Many have been famous in the Study of Logick, and more in that of the Civil Laws;

Laws; the more peculiar Business of all which Parts of Learning, is the finding out of Truth. No Man however should be so taken up in the Search of Truth, as thereby to neglect the more necessary Duties of the active Life; for, after all is done, it is Action only that gives a true Value and Commendation to Virtue. Not that we are able to be always a doing without Intermision, but often retire from Business to Study; beside that the Mind, which is in perpetual Motion and Agitation, of it self will supply us with Study and Thinking, whether we set our selves to it or not. In a Word, the general Aim and Design of our Thought, and Application of Mind, is either the Attainment of such things as are honest, and tend to a virtuous and happy Way of Life; or else the Improvement of our Reason and Understanding in Wisdom and Knowledge. And this may suffice for the first of our general Heads of Duty.

CHAP. VII.

The second general Virtue, which consists in maintaining of Human Society. Two Parts of it, Justice and Liberality. The first Duty of Justice. All things at first common. The Original of Property. Men are born for the Good, &c. of one another: Whence arises the second Duty of Justice. Two sorts of Injustice, the one of Commission, the other of Omission. The Causes of the first sort of Injustice; First, Fear: Secondly, Desire.

OF the other remaining three, that which consists in upholding Society, and keeping up mutual Love and good Nature amongst Mankind, seems of the largest and most diffusive Extent. It comprehends under it these two Parts: First, *Justice*, which is much the most glorious and splendid of all Virtues, and alone entitles us to the Name and Appellation of *Good Men*. And near of kin to this, Secondly, *Benevolence*, which may also be called either *Bounty* or *Liberality*. Now the first thing that Justice requires of us is this, *That no*
one

one should do any Hurt to another, unless by way of reasonable and just Retribution for some Injury received from him: And whatever things belong either to all in common, or to particular Persons as their own Propriety, should not be altered, but made use of accordingly. Now no Man can say that he has any thing *his own* by a Right of Nature; but either by an ancient immemorial Seizure, as those who first planted uninhabited Countries: Or, secondly, by Conquest, as those who have got things by the Right of the Sword; or else by some Law, Compact, Agreement, or Lot. 'Tis by some of these Means, that the People inhabiting *Arpinum* and *Tusculum* came to have those Lands, which are now called theirs; and the same may be said as to private Mens Estates. However, since at present, by some of these Ways, each particular Man has his personal Possessions, out of that which by Nature was common to all, 'tis but Reason that each should hold what is now his own; which if any one endeavour to take away from him, he directly breaks in upon common Justice, and violates the Rights of Human Society. But seeing (as is excellently said by PLATO) we are not born for our selves alone; but that our native Country, our Friends and Relations, have a just Claim and Title to some Part of us; and seeing whatsoever is created on Earth, was meerly designed (as the Stoicks will have it) for the Service of Men; and Men themselves for the Service, Good and Assistance of one another: We certainly in this should be Followers of Nature, and second her Intentions; and by doing all that lies within the Reach of our Power for the general Interest; by mutually giving and receiving good Turns, by our Knowledge, Industry, Riches, or other Means, should endeavour to keep up that Love and Society, that should be amongst Men. Now the great Foundation of Justice is *Faithfulness*, which consists in being constantly firm to your Word, and a conscientious Performance of all Compacts and Bargains; whereupon for this once, let us venture to follow the Opinion of the Stoicks, those mighty Admirers of Derivations, and believe that *Fides* [Faithfulness] is so call'd, (tho' perhaps it may seem a little too far fetcht) *quia fiat quod*

quod dictum est, because what was promised is performed. The Vice that is opposite to Justice is Injustice, of which there are two sorts: the *first* consists in the actual doing an Injury to another; the *second* is tamely looking on while he is injured, and not helping and defending him, tho' we are able. For he that injuriously falls upon another, whether prompted by Rage or other violent Passion, does as 'twere leap at the Throat of his Companion; and he that refuses to help him when injured, and to ward off the Wrong, if it lies in his Power, is as plainly guilty of Baseness and Injustice, as tho' he had deserted his Father, his Friends, or his native Country. Now that former Injustice, which consists in the *wilful and actual wronging another*, has oftentimes no other Cause but *Fear*; when he, who designedly does a Man an Injury, is afraid lest himself should be forced to undergo one, if he does not secure himself by doing it before-hand. But generally speaking, the great Source and Fountain of all such Injustice, is the satisfying some irregular and exorbitant Appetite; and in a more especial Manner, the Desire of Riches: Of which we shall therefore say something in particular.

C H A P. VIII.

The Desire of Riches, which is one Cause of Injustice, whence it proceeds. 'Tis allowable enough, so long as it does not draw Men to the injuring of others. The Desire of Honours, &c. another Cause of injustice. It usually is found in Men of the greatest Minds. There's a Difference to be made between those Injuries, that are done hastily and in a Passion, and those that proceed from premeditated Malice.

RICHES then are most commonly desired, either to supply us with the Necessaries of Life, or furnish us with the Pleasures and Conveniences of it; or else, as it often is observed to happen in persons of great and aspiring Minds, as a Means of obtaining an Interest

in the Publick, and a *Power* of obliging and gratifying one's Friends: To which Purpose was that Saying of the late MARCUS CRASSUS, That whoever designed to be a leading Man in the Commonwealth, ought never to think he had Estate enough, till he could maintain an Army with its yearly Revenue. Others take Pleasure in Splendor and Magnificence; in a handsome, noble and plentiful way of living: All which things have begot an insatiable Greediness after Money, without which they can never be supported and maintained. Not but that a moderate Desire of Riches, and bettering a Man's Estate, so long as it abstains from oppressing of others, is allowable enough; but a very great Care ought always to be taken, that we be not drawn to any Injustice by it. There's another *Desire* that makes Men as apt to be forgetful of Justice, as that after Riches; the Thirst, I mean, of Empire, Glory, Honours, &c. For that Saying of ENNIUS, *There's no inviolable Faith or Friendship in the Matter of a Kingdom*, tho' applied by him to that one Case only, is yet full out as true in a great many others; for wherever the Subject of Contention is such, as that only one Party can meet with Success, and the rest must fall short of what they desire; things are usually carried to so great a Height, as that 'tis very difficult not to break in upon Faith and Friendship. This hath appeared but too manifestly of late, in that rash and most impudent Attempt of CÆSAR's; who has broke thro' all those Ties and Obligations, that either by Gods or Men could be laid upon him, for the compassing and getting of that Empire to himself, which he vainly proposed in his depraved Imagination. But in this case 'tis one very great Unhappiness, that the Thirst after Honour, Empire, Power, &c. falls most upon Men of the greatest Souls, and most exalted Natures; wherefore the greater Care ought to be taken, that nothing of Offence be committed in this kind. Now it makes a great Difference in all Acts of Injustice, whether they proceed from some violent Passion, (which is for the most Part of short Continuance) or are done with Design and previous Deliberation:

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For those that are the Effects of a sudden Gust of Passion, ought not to be esteem'd of so heinous a Nature, as those that proceed from premeditated Malice. And this may suffice for the first sort of Injustice, which consists in *The actual doing of Wrong*; and the Causes of it.

CHAP. IX.

Injustice of Omission, and the Causes of it. Those are guilty of it, who spend their whole Lives in Study and Contemplation; as some Philosophers have done. Justice ought to proceed from Choice. Those who mind nothing but their own Business, are guilty of this Injustice. Self-love hinders Men from seeing their Duty. An excellent Rule for the avoiding of all Injustice.

AS for the second, which only consists in *seeing another injured, and being wanting to our Duty, by not defending him*; the Causes of that are wont to be several. For some are afraid of offending others, or of bringing a Trouble and Charge upon themselves: Others are negligent, idle, or mean-spirited: And a third sort there is, who are so taken up with their own Concerns, that they have no time left to regard the Oppressed, whom yet 'tis their Duty to save and protect. I am therefore of Opinion, that PLATO's Consequence will hardly hold good, where speaking about the Philosophers, he says, "They are wholly taken up in the seeking out of Truth, and perfectly neglect and make light of those things which the rest of the World are so eager after, and so contend about; and that therefore they are just." This, I say, I am afraid is a bad Consequence; for tho' 'tis true, they keep the first sort of Justice, inasmuch as they *actually do no Wrong*; yet they run perfectly counter to the other: For being engaged in their Learning and Studies, they abandon their Friends to be injured by others, whom in Justice they ought to have protected and defended. So that 'tis believed, they

would

would hardly ever trouble themselves so far, as at all to intermeddle with the Business of the Publick, if it was not altogether, as it were, forced upon them. But it were a great deal better would they do it voluntarily; for an Action, tho' honest, is not therefore truly virtuous, unless it be done out of Choice, and with a Good-will. There are others, yet, who out of a Desire of improving their own Estates, or else a morose and unsociable sort of Temper, cry, *They meddle with Nobody's Business but their own*, that so they may seem to be Men of strict Honesty, and to injure Nobody: And they do indeed avoid the one sort of Injustice, but directly run themselves into the other; for they desert the common Good and Society of Mankind, while they bestow neither Study, Pains, nor Money, towards the Preservation of it. Thus have I laid down the two sorts of Injustice, and pointed out to you the Causes of each, and have also endeavoured to explain the true Nature and Extent of Justice; from all which Accounts 'twill be easie to judge, unless we are extreemly fond of our own Ease, what those several Duties are, which at several Times are required of us. I say, *Unless we are fond of our own Ease*; for the Truth of it is, 'tis a troublesome thing to be concerned in the Business of other People; however old CHREMES in TERENCE thinks, *That he ought to be concerned for the good of all Men*. But be that as it will, forasmuch as the Success of our own Affairs, whether Good or Ill, more nearly concerns us, and makes us more sensible, than that of another's; (which appears to us small, as a thing at a great Distance) therefore we pass a quite different Judgment upon the one and the other. And, upon this Account, 'tis a very good Rule that is given by some Men, *That we should never venture upon any Action of which we doubt whether 'tis honest or dishonest*. For Honesty quickly would shew it self by its own native Brightness; and the doubting about it is a plain Intimation, that at least we suspected some Injustice when we did it.

CHAP. X.

Justice is altered upon an Alteration of Circumstances; and what was our Duty in one Case to do, in other Circumstances 'tis our Duty to avoid. Promises are not to be stood to in several Cases, as, if they are prejudicial: If made thro' Fear, &c. A close adhering to the Words of a Law, or Bargain, is a Means of being unjust: Craft in such Cases to be diligently avoided.

BUT here 'tis observable, That the Limits of Justice are not so fixed, but that they may be altered upon an Alteration of the Circumstances; so that what at one time appears to be the Duty of an honest and good Man, at another is altered and becomes the quite contrary: To deliver up a Trust, for Example, or perform a Promise, and other things relating to Truth and Faithfulness, are Duties which Justice it self will allow us, in several Cases, to neglect or omit: For respect must be had to those general Rules we before laid down, as the Ground and Foundation of all Justice. *First*, That no Injury be done to any other: And *Secondly*, That we make it our earnest Endeavour to promote the Good and Interest of all Mankind: So that our Duty is not always the same, but various, according to the Variety of Circumstances. There may be a Contract or Promise, for Instance, the Performance of which would bring very great Damage, either to the Person himself that made it, or the other Party whom it was made to. Thus, had NEPTUNE not granted what he promised to THESEUS, THESEUS had not suffered the Loss of his Son HIPPOLYTUS. For (the Story goes) NEPTUNE having granted him any three Wishes, for the third, he once in a very great Passion, desired the Death of his own Son; by obtaining of which, he was afterwards brought into the greatest Afflictions. Such Promises therefore ought not to be kept, as will but bring a Mischief on him they were made to; no more are those, which tend to the Damage of the Promiser himself, more than
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to the Profit of him they were promised to. Again, even Justice it self requires us to perform a greater before a lesser Duty: You promise, for Example, a Friend of yours, to assist him in a Cause that he has depending; but your Son grows dangerously sick in the mean time: here it would be no breach of Duty in you, if you should not make good what you promised to your Friend; and he himself rather would be much to blame, should he complain of being disappointed by you. Further, 'tis plain to any one's Sense, that such sort of Promises can never be binding, as are made by People over-awed by Fear, or over-reached by Deceit; most of which are void by the Prætor's Edicts, and some of them even by the Laws themselves. But another great Spring from which Injuries arise, is some Quirk or Cavil, and an over-subtle and malicious Interpretation of the Laws; from whence that Saying, *Sumum jus, summa Injuria*, *The Height of Justice is the Height of Roguery*, is now become a daily and common Proverb among us. There are frequent Examples of this to be met with in our Publick Transactions; as that of him, for Example, who concluding a Truce with the Enemy for thirty Days, made continual Incursions into their Territory by Night; because, forsooth, the Truce was not made for so many Nights, but only so many Days. Just such a crafty and pitiful Trick (if the Story be true) was that notable Cunning of *QUINTUS FABIVS LABEO*'s; or whoever the Man was, (for I have it only by hearsay) who being by the Senate appointed Arbitrator in a Difference between those of *Nola* and *Naples* about their Bounds; when he came to the Place that was appointed for the Treaty, took aside the Commissioners of either Party, and exhorted them privately, not to be too eager and greedy in their Demands, but rather to take up and content themselves with less, than pretend to any more than what was honestly their Due. Both Parties did so according to his Desire, so that a good Quantity of Ground was left between them: This he e'en goes and adjudges to the *Romans*, leaving that to each Party which they themselves had demanded.

ded. And is not this now to deceive and cheat, rather than to judge? In all Cases therefore such subtle kind of Tricks should be diligently avoided.

CHAP. XI.

Justice to be kept towards all sorts of Men. Bounds to be observed in punishing those that have injured us. Laws of War to be strictly observed. Two sorts of Disputing, by Reason, and by the Sword: The later is allowable, when we cannot obtain what's our Right by the former. What ought to be the End of making War. How it should be carried on. The Strictness of the old Romans in observing the Laws of War. A Story of the elder CATO to that Purpose.

THERE are certain Duties or Offices also, to be strictly observed, even towards those that have injured us; for we ought not to go beyond such and such Bounds, in exacting Revenge and Punishment of another: In which Particular it may perhaps be enough, to make him that has wronged us repent of the Wrong done; so that both he himself may abstain from the like, and others may be discouraged from injuring us for the future. There are certain peculiar Laws of War also, which are of all things most strictly to be observed in the Commonwealth: For there being two sorts of disputing in the World, the one by Reason, and the other by open Force; and the former of these being that which is agreeable to the Nature of Man, and the latter to that of Brutes; when we cannot obtain what is our Right by the one, we must e'en of Necessity have Recourse to the other. 'Tis allowable therefore to undertake Wars, but it must always be with Design of obtaining a secure Peace. And when we have gotten the better of our Enemies, we should rest content with the Victory alone, and shew our selves merciful and kind to them afterwards; unless they are such as have been very cruel, and committed inhumane Barbarities in the War. Thus

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our Fore-fathers took into their City the *Æquians*, *Volscians*, *Sabines*, and others whom they had subdued; whereas *Carthage* and *Numantia* they entirely destroyed. I could wish I might not add *Corinth* too; but I believe they had something in their Eye when they did it, and that more especially the Situation of the Place; which being so very convenient as it was, they were afraid lest it might be, at one Time or other, an Encouragement to Revolt. In my Opinion 'tis always our Duty to do what we can for a fair and safe Peace; in which thing, if People would have hearkened to me, we might at this Time have seen the Republick, tho', 'tis true, I cannot say in a flourishing Condition, yet certainly not, as at present we perceive it, entirely subverted and fallen into Ruins. And as we are bound to be merciful to those we have actually conquered, so should those also be received into Favour, who have laid down their Arms, and thrown themselves wholly upon the General's Mercy, and *that* even tho' the Breach be made in their City Walls. Our good Fore-fathers were most strictly just as to this Particular; the Custom of those Times making him the Patron of a conquer'd City or People, who first received them into the Faith and Allegiance of the People of *Rome*. In short, the whole Right, and all the Duties of War, are most religiously set down in the *Fecial Laws*; out of which it is manifest, that never any War can be justly undertaken, unless Satisfaction have been first demanded, and Proclamation of it made publickly before-hand. *POPPILLIUS* was Commander in one of the Provinces, *CATO's* Son a young Soldier under him; and *POPPILLIUS* thinking fit to disband one of his Legions, it happened to be the same in which the young Man was, who therefore was dismissed among the rest of the Soldiers; but having a Mind to see more of the War, he notwithstanding this continued still in the Army. Hereupon old *CATO* writes a Letter to *POPPILLIUS*, and therein desires him, *that if he suffered his Son to remain in the Army, he would give him his Military Oath again; forasmuch as the former being void by his disbanding, he*

could not any longer fight lawfully with an Enemy : So religiously careful they were in those Days, of doing nothing that is contrary to the Laws of War. There is extant still an Epistle of CATO the Father to his Son, in which he tells him, *That he had heard of his being disbanded by the Consul, when he was a Soldier in Macedonia, in the War with PERSEUS ; and therefore he advises him not by any Means to intermeddle in a Battle, because, says he, 'tis unlawful for one, that is no longer a Soldier, to engage with the Enemy.*

C H A P. XII.

The Civility of the old Romans towards their Enemies, in giving them the mildest Names. Some Wars are only for Empire, others for Safety : Difference of Conduct to be observ'd in each. A noble and generous Saying of King PYRRHUS.

AND here I cannot but observe moreover, that he who is properly call'd *Perduellis* [*a stubborn Enemy*] had by our Ancestors the Name of *Hostis* given him ; the Gentleness of the Word somewhat lessening the Foulness and Odium of the Thing : For *Hostis* [*an Enemy*] among them, signified the same thing that *Peregrinus* [*a Stranger*] does now amongst us ; as appears from the Laws of the XII Tables, and therein such sort of Expressions as these, *Status dies cum hoste*, and *Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas*. What greater Courtesy could be shewn than this, to call even an Enemy by only the softest and most obliging Names ? Tho' the Word is now alter'd, I confess, from that mild to an harsher Sense, Custom having changed it from what it first properly signified, a *Stranger*, to denote such a one as *bears Arms against us*. We have told you already what previous Causes and Conditions there should be, before any War can be lawful and just ; the same are required even in those Wars also, which are undertaken merely for Glory and Empire : But then all Contests of
this.

this latter sort should be carried on with less Heat and Animosities: For as in the Differences that happen among Citizens, we make a Distinction between a violent Enemy and a generous Rival; (in one Case nothing but a Title of Honour, in the other our Lives and Reputations being concerned) so did our Ancestors do in their Wars. That which they waged with the *Cimbers* and *Celtibers*, was managed as with hateful and implacable Enemies, the Question then being, not whether of the two should remain a Conqueror, but whether should remain a People at all: Whereas those with the *Latins*, *Carthaginians*, *PHYRRHUS*, &c. were only Quarrels about Honour and Dominion. The *Carthaginians* were perfidious and treacherous, *HANNIBAL* their great Commander cruel, but all the rest more faithful and merciful. That Speech of *PHYRRHUS* is indeed very extraordinary upon restoring the Captives, when he says,

*I neither Gold of you nor Price demand;
Nor will I chaffer, but fight out the War;
Let Steel, not Gold, to each their Fate decide.
Whether to you or me Dame Fortune will
The Victory grant; or what the Chance of war,
Shall Courage try. And this I add withal,
That freely I their Liberties restore
To these brave Men, whose Lives the War has spared.
Freely I give, do you as freely take,
In the Name of the mighty Gods.*

A truly royal and princely Saying, and worthy of the glorious Family of the *ÆACIDÆ*.

C H A P. XIII.

Particular Persons bound in Justice to keep the Promises made to an Enemy. The Example of REGULUS. The Story of Ten who did the contrary: How punished by the Romans; particularly one, who thought to have escaped by a Quirk. A noble Instance of the Roman Justice to King PYRRHUS, Justice to be kept towards the meanest Slaves. Two ways whereby Injuries are done, Fraud and Force. Fraud the more odious. To be a Rogue under the Mask of Honesty, the greatest of Villanies.

TIS also the Duty of particular Persons, if at any Time forced by the Necessity of their Circumstances, they have made any Promise or Oath to an Enemy, afterwards to see that they perform it faithfully. Thus REGULUS was taken in the first *Punick* War by the *Carthaginians*, and sent by them to *Rome* about an Exchange of Prisoners, upon solemn Oath given, that he would return to them again. First then, as soon as he was come to *Rome*, he advised the Senate against making such a Change; and when he had done so, (tho' begged on to stay by his Friends and Relations) rather returned to a certain Punishment, than his Oath should be broken, tho' made to an Enemy. But HANNIBAL in the second *Carthaginian* War, after our fatal Defeat at *Canna*, sent ten to *Rome* under the same Obligation of returning again, unless by their Interest they could prevail with the Senate to redeem their Prisoners, who were all by the Censors deprived of their Privileges as Freemen, and tied to pay such and such Duties to the Publick as long as they lived, for not being true to their Oaths and Obligations. There was one of them thought by a Trick to have eluded the Force of his Oath, but was nevertheless punished for all that: His Shift was this: HANNIBAL had let them depart his Camp upon the Condition afore-mentioned; when therefore they had gotten a little way out of it, what does he do but come back to it again, under Colour of having for-
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got to take something (I know not what) with him; and then away he goes out again, discharged (as he thought) from his Obligation of returning. And so, 'tis very true, he was in Word, but not in Reality; for in all such Oaths we are not to attend to the meer Form of Words, but the true Design and Intention of them. But the greatest Example of Justice to an Enemy, was shewn by our Ancestors towards King PYRRHUS: There came a Defserter out of PYRRHUS's Camp, and offered the Senate to dispatch him with Poyson; which they and FABRICIUS were so far from accepting of, that they gave him up again as a Traitor to his Master. Thus we may see, that they would not allow of any unjust way of dealing, tho' for the Death of a powerful and invading Adversary: And so much for the Duties required in War. There is one Part of Justice remaining behind, and which ought by no Means to be forgotten by us; I mean that towards the lowest and meanest sort of People: And these are more especially those we call our Slaves; in relation to whom, 'tis a very good Rule that is given by some Men, that we should use them no otherwise than we do our Day-labourers, *Make them first do their Work, and then pay them honestly what they have earned.* In fine to close up this Discourse of Justice, there are two Ways or Methods; whereby one Man may injure or oppress another; the one is *Fraud* and Subtlety, the other open *Force* and Violence; the former of which is held the Part of a Fox, and the latter of a Lion; both of them certainly very unworthy of a reasonable Creature, tho' Fraud, I think, is the more odious of the two. But of all Injustice, theirs is certainly of the deepest Dye, who make it their Business to appear honest Men, even whilst they are practising the greatest of Villanies.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Liberality, the second Part of general Justice. Three Cautions to be observed concerning it. 'Tis not Liberality, to bestow upon one what is wrongfully taken from another; nor what ought to have rather been given to our Relations; nor to give out of Vain-glory. Bounty should be proportioned to the Merit of the Receiver, which is of several sorts.

WE have now gone through with the Subject of Justice; it remains in the next Place (to go on according to our Method propos'd) that we say something likewise of Bounty and Liberality, than which there is nothing more nearly allied to the Nature of Man. But then we must observe these following Cautions; *First*, That we take Care in all Acts of Bounty, that they be not prejudicial to those we would oblige by them, nor to any other Body. *Secondly*, That we do not in our Bounty and Liberality go beyond our Estates. And, *Thirdly*, That we duly proportion our Kindness, according to every Man's Merit and Deserts. And first of the former, which is grounded upon the great and fundamental Principle of all Justice, to which this Duty in all its particular Instances should be referred. For he who pretending to do one a Kindness, does that which is really a Prejudice to him, is indeed so far from being kind and obliging, as that he ought to be counted a most pernicious Flatterer; and to do any manner of Injury to one, that you may shew your Generosity and Bounty to another, is just one and the same sort of Roguery and Injustice, as to enrich your self by the Spoils of your Neighbour. Yes, this is the Fault of a great many People, and especially those who are desirous of Glory, to take away from some, that which justly belongs to them, that so they may have to bestow upon others, and they are apt to think themselves extremely bountiful, if they enrich their Adherents by any manner of Means. But this is so far from being a Duty of Liberality, that nothing in the World can be more
contrary

contrary to it. It ought to be therefore our first Care in giving, that what we bestow be a real Advantage and Kindness to our Friend, and no ways an Injury to any third Person. That Action therefore of CÆSAR and SYLLAS's in taking away Estates from the rightful Proprietors, and giving them to others who had nothing to do with them, ought by no Means to be accounted liberal; for nothing can ever be truly such, that is not at the same time just and honest. A second Caution to be observed was this, *That our Bounty be not suffered to exceed our Abilities*; for they who give more than their Estates will allow of, are, in the first Place, injurious to their own Relations, by spending that Wealth upon other People, which should rather have been given or left to them. Beside that this over-great Bounty in giving, is usually accompanied with an answerable Desire and Greediness of getting, which often proceeds even to down-right Oppression, that so Men may have wherewithal to supply this extravagant Humour. One may also observe in a great many People, that they take a sort of Pride in being counted magnificent, and give very plentifully, not from any generous Principle in their Natures, but only to appear great in the Eye of the World; so that all their Bounty is resolved into nothing but meer Outside and Pretence, and is nearer of kin to Vanity and Folly, than 'tis to either Liberality or Honesty. The third Caution was, *That our Bounty should be proportioned to the Merits of the Receiver*: In judging of which, we are first to consider the Man's Honesty or Manners; secondly, the Good-will he bears towards us; thirdly, the Nearness of Relation, or Society that is between us; and, lastly, the Benefits we have formerly received from him. 'Tis desirable that all these Inducements might concur in the same Person; but when they do not, we should bestow our Kindness more especially on him, in whom we find the most and weightiest of them.

C H A P. XV.

Honesty, the first sort of Merit. We are not to expect we shall find perfectly good Men. Modesty, Temperance, &c. more especially to be regarded. How we should judge of Men's Good-will towards us. Gratitude a most necessary Duty: We should imitate fruitful Fields, by returning more than we have received. How to judge of the Value of any Kindness: Those to be least esteemed that are done rashly and inconsiderately. We should do most for those that stand in greatest Need, if they are otherwise deserving.

NOW seeing we do not live amongst such as are perfectly and tully Wise, but such as are thought to have done very well, if they are but, as it were, the rough Draughts of Virtue; we ought to consider, I think, in the first Place, that no one should wholly be neglected in this Case, in whom there appears any Shadow or Resemblance of real Honesty; but that those Men ought to be principally regarded, who excel in the quiet and more peaceable Virtues of Modesty, Temperance, and especially this Justice, of which I have now been discoursing a great while; For most times Greatness of Spirit and Courage, unless it be in those who are perfectly wise and virtuous, is something too hot and apt to boil over; the others are the Virtues which seem more particularly to constitute a good Man. And so much for the first sort of Merit to be considered, viz. The Manners or Honesty of the Person we would be kind to. The second was, *The Good-will which he bears towards us*; as to which it should always be our principal Care, to do most for him by whom we are most beloved. Now in judging of the Good-will that any one bears us, we are not to consider (like Boys and Children) any sudden Flashes and Heats of Passion, but rather a constant and well-settled Affection. But if a Man, in the next Place, has done us any real Service, so that our Part is to make a Requital,

and

and not first to lay an Obligation upon him, 'tis then our Duty to take some greater Care; for of all the Virtues, there is none we are more necessarily obliged to than *Gratitude*. If then, according to *HESIOD's Rule*, even that which was no more than barely lent us, is, if possible, to be returned back with Interest again, what abundant Returns should we make to those, by whom we have been freely and generously obliged? What less can we do than be like fruitful Fields, which produce beyond Comparison more than was thrown into them? And if we do Services even to those Men from whom we hope afterwards to receive any Favours, ought we not much more to do the same to those, from whose forward Kindness we have already received them? For the Virtue of Liberality containing under it these two Parts in the *first Place*; The doing a Kindness to any one; and, *secondly*, The requiring it when done to us; whether we will perform the former or not, is altogether left to our own Choice, but every good Man is obliged to the latter, whenever he can do it without Injustice. But then we are to make a Distinction between Benefits, and are *there* bound to make the most ample Returns, *where* the Obligations we have received are the greatest. And to judge of the Merits of any Kindness, we are chiefly to consider in what Manner it was done, as whether freely, considerately, and from a principle of Good-nature: For several People do many things rashly, and with a blind sort of Impulse, throwing away their Favours upon all without Distinction, being hurried about, as it were with a Tempest, by every mad and frolicksome Humour, and every sudden or impetuous Passion. A Benefit therefore, when received from such a one, is not to be esteemed of an equal Value with those that proceed from a settled Judgment and due Consideration. But our principal Duty both in doing of Kindnesses and making Requitals, is to do most for those that stand in greatest need of it, supposing all Circumstances else to be equal: The contrary to which appears plainly in the Practice of the Generality of Mankind; for People choose to bestow their Favours

Favours upon those, from whom they expect to receive the most Benefits, tho' the Persons perhaps do not at all stand in need of them.

C H A P. XVI.

We should be most ready to give to those, who are most nearly allied to us. The first sort of Alliance is that between all Men in general. The Bond of it, and Duties resulting from it. We are bound to do for any Men what will be a Kindness to him, and no Prejudice to our selves; but with this Caution, That we do not thereby make our selves unable to assist those who are more nearly allied to us.

THE fourth Inducement remaining to be spoke to, is, *The Nearness of Relation, or Society that is amongst Men; for the Maintenance of which, we cannot do better, than to give most to those that stand nearest related to us.* But that we may consider with greater Distinctness the natural Principles of humane Society, we shall here trace it down from the Fountain Head. The first thing then to be taken notice of is this, *That there is such a thing as a Fellowship or Society between all Men in general:* The Bond or Cement that holds this together is Reason and Discourse, which by teaching, learning, communicating one with another, &c. easily make Men agree together, and unite them all in one natural sort of Conjunction and Community. Nor does any thing set us at a greater Distance from the Nature of Beasts; for we oftentimes talk of the Courage of *them*, such as Lions and Horses, but never a Word of their Equity, Justice, or Goodness; and why is this, but because they are destitute of Reason and Discourse? This is then the largest and most comprehensive of all Societies, being made up of Men considered barely as such, and so taking in even the whole Race and Kind of them one with another: The Duties of which are, To let every one have a Share in those things, which by Nature were produced for the

common.

common Advantage and Benefit of all; to let what is already determined by Laws and Civil Constitutions remain as it is, without breaking in upon any Man's Right: As to which things however we should remember a Rule, which is now among the *Greeks* become an usual Proverb, *All things in common amongst Friends*. But perhaps you may ask, what kind of things we suppose them to be, which ought to be common to all Mankind? ENNIUS has given us one Instance of them, which may be easily applied to a great many others;

*He who directts the wandring Traveller,
Doth, as 'twere, light another's Torch by his own;
Which gives him ne'er the less of Light, for that
It gave another.*

By this one Case he sufficiently teaches us, That whatever Kindness can be done for another, without any Damage or Loss to our selves, it is our Duty to do it, though never so much a Stranger. From hence have arisen those general Maxims and Principles of Humanity, *Not to deny one a little running Water*; or, *The lighting his Fire by ours, if he has Occasion*: *To give the best Counsel we are able to one who is in Doubt or Distress*; which are things that do Good to the Person that receives them, and are no Loss or Trouble to him that confers 'em. Such things therefore, being by *Nature common*, should accordingly be kept open for the free use of all Men: And of those which are *our own* we should always be giving something, that may contribute to the Benefit and Welfare of the Whole. But because the Revenues of Particulars are small, and there are infinite Numbers of those that Want, therefore is this universal Bounty to be kept within the Limits prescribed by ENNIUS, *It gives him ne'er the less of Light*; that so we may have it still within our Power to be liberal to those who are more nearly allied to us.

C H A P. XVII.

Several other Degrees of Relation, less extensive than that mentioned in the former Chapter. That of Friendship the most closely knit. The Ground and Foundation of true Friendship. The Relation arising from doing Kindnesses to one another. The Love a Man has for his native Country swallows up all other Loves whatever. Which of the several Relatives we ought to prefer, in our Liberality and doing Kindnesses. A Description of Friendship; and of all Friendships which is most pleasant.

BUT there are several Degrees of Society and Fellowship amongst Mankind; for to take now our Leave of that general and universal one already mentioned, there is a nearer among those who are all of the same Country, Nation or Language, than which nothing more knits and unites Men to one another. There is a closer yet among those who are all of the same City; for a great many things are in common to Fellow-Citizens, such as Markets, Temples, Walks, Ways, Laws, Privileges, Courts, of Justice, Freedom of Votes, besides common Meetings and Familiarities, and abundance of Business and Entercourse with one another. But there is a stricter Bond of Alliance still between those who belong to the same Family, as taking into it but a very small Part of that vast and immense one of all Mankind: For there being by Nature implanted in all things a certain Desire of begetting their Like, the closest and nearest of all Societies is between Man and Wife; then follows that between *them* and their Children, and afterwards *that* of the whole Family, who inhabit together, and have all things in common; which is, as it were, the first Beginning of a City, and Ground or Seed-plot of a whole Common-wealth. Next to this comes the Bond of Relation between Brothers, as also between first and second Cousins; who growing too numerous to live

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in the same House, are sent out to others, as it were into new Colonies. Next after this follow Marriages and Alliances, and so a new Stock of Relations that way; from whence comes a new Propagation and Offspring, which serves to give Rise, as was said, to Common wealths. Now that Nearness of Blood, and the natural Love which arises from it, cannot but endear Men to one another, is past all Doubt; it is a very great Matter to have the same Relicts and Monuments of our Ancestors, to make use of the same religious Ceremonies, and be laid after Death in the same Place of Burial. But of all the Societies and Unions amongst Men, there is none more excellent, or more closely knit, than when such as are Men of real Virtue and Honesty, from a certain Agreement and Likeness of their Manners, contract a Familiarity and Friendship with one another. For Virtue and Goodness (as we often observe) of Necessity moves us wherever we see it, and makes us all have a Love and Respect for that Person in whom we discover it. And as every Virtue thus wins upon our Hearts, and even forces us to love those we take to possess it, so more especially do Justice and Beneficence. But when several Persons are all like one another in Honesty and good Manners, then no Society can ever be more loving, or more closely united: For where there are many of the same Humour, and same Inclinations, every one sees, in some Measure, his own self, and is accordingly delighted in the Person of another; and that is brought about, which PYTHAGORAS thought the Perfection of all Friendship; *That a great many Several are made into One.* There is another remarkable Fellowship or Community, arising from an Entercourse of doing and receiving Benefits; which, while it is kept up by a mutual Gratitude and Kindness of all the Parties, cannot but occasion a firm and very lasting Agreement between them. But when we have gone over all the Relations that are in the World, and thoroughly considered the Nature of each, we shall find that there is no one of greater Obligation, no one that is dearer and nearer to us, than that which

which we all of us bear to the Publick. We have a tender Concern and Regard for our Parents, for our Children, our Kindred, and Acquaintance, but the Love which we have for our native Country swallows up all other Loves whatever; for which there is no honest Man but would die, if by his Death he could do it any necessary Service. How detestable then must the Wickedness and Barbarity of those People be, who have mangled and rent this their native Country by all Manner of Villanies, and have made it their Business (nay, and still do so) to bring it to Ruin and utter Desolation? Now if there should happen any Contest or Competition between these Relations, which of them should have the greatest Share of our Duty, we should pay the first Regard to our Country and Parents, from whom we have received the most endearing Obligations; the next to our Children and Family, who all have their Eyes upon us alone, and have no body else they can depend upon; next in order to these come our Kindred and Relations, whose Fortune is generally the same with our own. To each of these therefore, whom I have just now mentioned, we must of all owe what is necessary for their Subsistence: But then, as for living and eating together, for mutual Advising, Discourse, Exhortation, Comforting, and sometimes (if occasion serves) Rebuking, Friendship is the properest Soil for them; and of all kinds of Friendship, there is none so pleasant as that which is cemented by a Likeness of Manners.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVIII.

In Liberality the Necessity of the Person is especially to be considered. Some Kindnesses due to some Relatives more than to others. Rules signify but little of themselves, unless they are confirmed by Practice and Exercise. Greatness of Soul, the third general Virtue, most glorious and splendid of them all. Is most of all praised, and its Contrary dispraised among Men.

BUT in all these Duties of Beneficence and Liberality, one principal thing to be taken Notice of is, What Necessity the Person we would be kind to lies under, and what he is able or not able to do without our Assistance: So that in some Cases, the present Posture and Circumstances of a Man's Condition ought more to prevail with us, than the Degrees of Relation. Again, there are certain particular Offices, which are more peculiarly owing to some one sort of Relatives, than they are to another: In the Business (for Example) of getting in his Corn, 'tis our Duty rather to assist a next Neighbour, than either a Brother or familiar Friend; but if the Business be a Case at Law, then a Kinsman or Friend must rather be defended, than only a next Neighbour. These things therefore, and such like Circumstances, should be well considered, in the Practice and Exercise of every Virtue; and our Minds should be brought to a kind of Acquaintance and Familiarity with them, that so we may be quick at the Accounts of our Duty, and able by casting up all things together, to see at last what the Remainder is, and know what we owe to the several Sorts and Conditions of Men. For as a General, Orator, or Physician, however well skilled in the Rules of his Art, can never be perfect without the Assistance of Practice and Experience; just so it is in the Case now before us: Many have laid down the Rules and Precepts of *Virtue* and Good-living, (as I my self am doing at this very Time) but there is moreover required to a due Degree of Height and Perfection

fection in *it*, that one accustom himself to the Exercise of them. And thus have I shewn how Virtue and Honesty (from which all our Duties do immediately flow) are deduced from those things which concern the Society and Good of Mankind; which was the second General I proposed to discourse of.

It is to be observed, that whereas there were laid down four general Heads, from which all Virtue and Honesty is derived; whatever proceeds from a brave and exalted Mind, that is raised above Fortune, and all the little Chances and Accidents of the World, is usually made most account of amongst Men. Hence in Reproaches we find there is nothing more common than such things as these,

*For Shame! Young Men, and yet have Womens
Hearts!*

While this brave Woman plays the Man —

Or something like this,

*Dear Salmacis give Spoils that cost no Sweat or
Blood!*

Whereas, on the contrary, in Praises or Panegyricks, those things that are done with a Bravery of Mind, and have something of extraordinary Courage in them, (I know not how) we commend in a nobler and loftier Strain, than we do any thing else. Hence *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platea*, &c. are so common a Field for all the Rhetoricians: Hence our *COCLES*; hence the *DECII*, the *SCIPIO's*, *MARCELLUS*, and a great many others; and especially the People of *Rome* it self, are particularly famous for Greatness of Courage. But the Value that is set upon military Glory, appears from this, that almost all Statues are done in the Habit and Garb of a Soldier.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Courage is not truly a Virtue, unless it be accompanied with Justice, Truth, &c. An excellent Definition of it given by the Stoicks. An admirable Saying of Plato to the same Purpose. Men of great Souls are apt to be Ungovernable and Ambitious; which prompts them to Injustice. A Man of a truly noble Spirit never injures another, but protects from Injuries; scorns Applause, and the Voice of the ignorant Multitude.

BUT that sort of Courage which is seen in the Dangers and Fatigues of War, unless a Man be governed by the Rules of Justice, and fight for the Safety and good of the Publick, and not for particular Ends of his own, is altogether blameable; and so far from being a Part of true Virtue, that 'tis indeed a Piece of the most barbarous Inhumanity. Fortitude is therefore very well defined by the Stoick Philosophers, when they call it, *A Virtue contending for Justice and Honesty*. No Man therefore by Baseness and Treachery has ever got the Name and Reputation of true Courage; for nothing can ever be Virtuous or Creditable, that is not Just. To which Purpose, that of PLATO was admirably well said, "As that sort of Knowledge, which is not directed by the Rules of Justice, ought rather to have the Name of *Design* and *Subtilty*, than *Wisdom* and *Prudence*; just so that bold and adventurous Mind, which is hurried by the Stream of its own Passions, and not for the Good and Advantage of the Publick, should rather have the Name of *Fool-hardy* and *Daring* than *Valiant* and *Couragious*. The first thing therefore I would have in a truly courageous Man, is, That he be a Follower of Goodness and fair Dealing, of Truth and Sincerity; which are principal and constituent Parts of Justice. But here 'tis one very unhappy thing, that most times these great and exalted Minds are naturally ungovernable and desirous of Rule: So that what PLATO observed of the *Spartans*, *That all their Customs had*

had no other Aim, but to get the Superiority, may fitly enough be applied to these Persons: For the more any Man has of this Greatness of Soul, the more eager he is of being a Sharer in the Government, or rather of obtaining it wholly to himself: And 'tis no easie Matter to be fair and equitable in all one's Actions, (which is the proper and peculiar Office of Justice) while one is endeavouring to make himself uppermost. From hence it comes to pass, that they will never be conquered in any Debates, or over-ruled by the Laws and Constitutions of the Publick; but make it their Business by Factions and Bribery to get a strong Party and Interest in the Republick; and rather choose to be Uppermost by Force and Injustice, than equal to others by fair and upright Dealing. But the Difficulty of it can only serve to make it more honourable, *but never its contrary more excusable*: For no sort of Case or Circumstance whatever, can excuse any Man for being guilty of Injustice. Those are therefore your truly brave and couragious Men, not who rob, plunder and injure others, but those who secure and protect them from Injuries. But that Greatness of Mind, which is *truly* such, and under the Direction of Wisdom and Prudence, makes that Honour and Credit, which we naturally desire, not consist in the outward imaginary Applause, but in the real intrinsick Goodness of its Actions; and is not so eager of *appearing* to be greater and better than others, as of *really being so*. For he that is so mean as to depend upon the giddy and ignorant Multitude, ought never to be accounted of a truly great and exalted Spirit: Besides that, there is nothing so easily draws Men to Acts of Injustice, as a Loftiness of Mind, when joined with this foolish Desire of Applause. This is indeed a very dangerous Place, and requires our greatest Concern and Watchfulness; because you shall hardly find any Man, that, when he has gone through Labours and Difficulties, does not expect this Honour and Applause, as a kind of Reward for his Courage and Atchievements.

CHAP. XX.

Wherein true Greatness of Soul consists. An excellent Description of it. 'Tis an Enemy to Covetousness, to the Desire of Applause and of Power. Produces a calm and unpassionate Mind. The Desire of this Calm and Tranquility of Mind, has made some Men retire, and separate themselves from publick Business. In what a perfect Freedom consists.

NOW all true Courage and greatness of Mind is more especially seen in these two things: The *first* is a generous Contempt or Disregard of all outward Goods, proceeding from an Opinion, That 'tis unworthy of a Man *to admire*, or wish for, or endeavour after any thing, unless it be that which is Honest and Becoming; *to make himself subject to any one's Will; to be a Slave to his own irregular Passions; or any ways depend upon the Capricious of Fortune.* When he has gotten such a Temper of Mind as I have now been describing, then the *second* thing is, That he perform such Actions as are glorious and profitable, but withal very full both of Labour and Difficulty; and extremely dangerous to his Life it self, as well as to those things that are requisite for its Preservation. Now all the *Lustre* and *Dignity* of these two Parts, nay, and I add all their *Usefulness* too, is lodged only in the latter; but the Ground-work, as it were, and Foundation of all true Greatness, is laid in the former. For in that are contained those generous Principles, which exalt Mens Minds, and raise them to a Contempt of all worldly things. But that former it self is made up of two Parts, The *first* is an Opinion that nothing is truly and really Good, but only what is Honest: The *second*, a Freedom from all sort of Passion or Disturbance of Mind. For what can more discover a Man of a brave and heroick Spirit, than to make no Account in the World of those things which seem so glorious and dazling to the Generality of Mankind; but wholly to
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despite

despise them, not from any vain and fantastick Humour, but from solid and firm Principles of Reason and Judgment? Or what can shew more a robust Mind, and unshaken Constancy, than to bear those heavy and numerous Calamities, which are incident to Mankind in this Life, with such a firm Temper and Fixedness of Soul, as never to offend against Nature and Right Reason, or do any thing that is unworthy the Dignity and Character of a wise Man? Now it would not at all be consistent or agreeable, that he who bore up so courageously against *Fear*, should be afterwards unable to resist *Desire*; or that he who could never be conquered by *Pain*, should suffer himself to be captivated by *Pleasure*. These things therefore should well be consider'd, and of all Desires, that of *Money* should be avoided; for nothing is a greater Sign of a narrow, mean and sordid Spirit, than to dote upon Riches; nor is any thing on the contrary more creditable and magnificent than to condemn Wealth, if you have it not; and if you have it, to lay it out freely in Acts of Bounty and Liberality. The Desire of Glory (as I before observed) ought also to be avoided: For it robs a Man wholly of his Freedom and Liberty, which generous Spirits ought of all things in the World to maintain and contend for. Neither ought Places of Power to be sought after; but at some times rather to be refused when offered; at others, be laid down if they can conveniently. We should free our selves, in short, from all vehement Passions and Disorders of Mind, not only those of *Desire* and *Fear*, but also of *Sorrow*, of *Joy*, and *Anger*; that so the State of the Mind may be calm and undisturbed, which will make the whole Life become graceful and uniform. Now there both *are* and *have been* many, who to gain this Repose of which I am speaking, have betaken themselves to a Life of Retirement, and wholly withdrawn from all Business of the Publick. Among these the noblest and most eminent of the Philosophers; and some Men of rigid and severe Lives, who misliked the Manners of the People or their Governours; others have withdrawn themselves

selves into the Country, being pleased with the Management of their own private Fortunes. These Men proposed the same End to themselves that Kings and Princes do, viz. The Living so as to want for nothing; to be under the Power and Controul of none, but to enjoy a full and perfect Freedom; which consists in living so, as one's self best pleases.

C H A P. XXI.

Those who live a publick and a private Life aim both at Freedom. Their Lives compared : The former more useful, the latter more safe. In what Cases a Man may be excused from serving the Publick. Those ought to serve it who are qualified for the Service. Greatness of Soul more necessary for those in a publick, than in a retired Life. Two or three Rules to be observed before a Man enters upon Business.

THIS then being the common Design and End of them both, those who are ambitious of Power and Authority, think to obtain it by enlarging their Fortunes and Interests in the World; but these whom I have mentioned as Men of Retirement, by contenting themselves with their own Condition, tho' but humble and mean. In which they are neither of them wholly in the wrong; but the Life of the latter, I mean the retired, is both easier and safer, and begets less of Trouble and Disturbance to others; whereas that of the former, who give themselves up to Affairs of State, and the Management of great and important Concerns, is more adapted to the Benefit and Good of Mankind, and the getting of Credit and Reputation in the World. Those People therefore are perhaps excusable, who being of Parts and Capacities for Learning, give themselves wholly to the Study of it, and never at all meddle with Publick Business: And so are those also, who being disabled by Sicknets and Infirmitates, or on any other good and allowable Account,

have separated themselves from the Administration of Affairs, leaving the Power and Reputation of it in the Hands of others. But as for those People, who have none of these Reasons, and pretend to despise those Commands and Honours, which most Men admire; I am so far from thinking it a Virtue in them, that I rather esteem it a very great Fault. Thus far, 'tis true, one can hardly condemn them, in that they despise, and make little account of Glory and Applause; but their true Reason seems to be rather this, That they do not care to suffer the Labour and Fatigue of them, and are afraid of encountering with Rubs and Repulses, as things that are attended with some Shame and Dishonour. For you shall often find there is a great many Men, who are very inconsistent with themselves in things of a contrary Nature: As for *Pleasure*, they despise it with all the Severity of a Stoick; but yet are so effeminate, as not to be able to bear the least *Trouble*; are mighty-Contemners of *Fame*, and *Applause*; but extremely concerned at any thing of *Disgrace*: Which are things that do not very well agree together. Those People then, whom Nature has endowed with Abilities for that Purpose, should forthwith endeavour to procure themselves Places, and manage the Business of the Commonwealth: Otherwise how should the City be well governed, or the Greatness of their Endowments be made known to the World? But that Greatness of Soul, and Contempt of all human things, (which we have often mentioned) together with that Calmness and Serenity of Mind, is requisite in those of a publick Station, as much, if not more than 'tis in Philosophers, if ever they hope to be free from Anxieties, and arrive at any Steadiness or Uniformity in their Lives. Now these things are easier to Philosophers, than to them; forasmuch as their Lives, being led in private, require for their Support a less Number of things, and have fewer within the Power and Reach of Fortune: And if any ill Accident should befall them, 'tis impossible their Sufferings can be very considerable. Those
Men

Men therefore that are in publick Stations, having things of more Weight and Importance to be taken care of, must in reason be supposed to lye much more open to the Assaults of the Passions, than those who spend their Days in Privacy and Retirement. Upon which Account they should take the more Care to fortifie themselves with this Greatness of Spirit, and to free their Minds from the grievous Torments and Disturbances of them. But he who takes upon him a publick Trust, should not only look that the Business be Honest, but that he himself be qualified for the Management of it. In considering of which there is a double Extream to be carefully avoided. That he neither despair through a mean Cow-heartedness, nor yet be over confident through Eagerness of Desire. And lastly, in whatever he sets about, let all things be diligently and carefully put in Order, before he goes on to the Execution of it.

C H A P. XXII.

'Tis no less great and commendable to manage Affairs of Peace, than of War. Several Examples to prove this. Arms useless abroad, without civil Prudence at home. Cicero's eminent Services to the Republick: A Saying of Pompey the Great to him upon that Subject.

BUT seeing most People are apt to imagine, that 'tis greater and more glorious to manage Affairs of War, than Peace; I shall endeavour to lessen this general Opinion. For the Greatness of that Glory, which is given to Warriors, has made many People, for no other reason, desirous of Quarrels; especially Men of the greatest Parts and most aspiring Minds; particularly if they are qualified for a Soldier's Life, and their Disposition carry them to the Profession of Arms. But if we would make a just Estimate of the Case, we should find both greater and more glorious Actions done by Wisdom at home, than by Arms abroad,

broad. For what tho' THEMISTOCLES be deservedly commended, and his Name more illustrious than that of SOLON; and tho' *Salamis* be brought for the Proof of a Victory, which is commonly preferred to the Wisdom of SOLON in constituting and settling the Senate of *Areopagus*; yet, in Truth, ought *this* to be judged no less great and extraordinary than *that*: For THEMISTOCLES's Victory was only a Service to the Commonwealth once; but SOLON's Counsel will be so for ever: Seeing 'tis by *this* that the Laws of the *Athenians*, and Constitutions of their Ancestors, are kept up and maintained. Beside, THEMISTOCLES can name nothing in the World, wherein he assisted the *Areopagus*: But SOLON on his Part may truly say, That he, by his Wisdom, was assisting to THEMISTOCLES; for the War was carried on by the Directions of that Senate, which he by his Prudence at first appointed. The same may be said of PAUSANIAS and LYSANDER; for though by their Valour they are thought to have enlarged the Dominion of the *Spartans*, yet 'tis by no Means at all to be compared with the Laws and Discipline of the wise LYCURGUS: Beside, that it was solely to these Laws and this Discipline, they owed all the Courage and Obedience of their Armies. I, for my own Part, was always of Opinion, That MARCUS SCAURUS, when I was a Boy, was by no Means inferior to CAIUS MARIUS; nor QUINTUS CATULUS, since I meddled with the Republick, to CNEUS POMPEIUS; for Armies can signifie but little abroad, unless there be Counsel and wise Management at home. Neither was the raising and destroying of *Numantia*, by that incomparable Person, and brave Commander the second AFRICANUS, a greater and more signal Piece of Service to the Republick, than the killing of TIBERIUS GRACCHUS by NASICA, tho' a meer private Citizen at the same time. 'Tis true, this Action had something of the Soldier in it, as being done by Force and downright Violence, and so does not wholly come under the Notion of Civil Concerns: However, I have brought it as an Instance of these, because it was affected by this Civil sort of Prudence, and without the Assistance of
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a Military Power. I cannot but therefore still extremely approve of that Saying of mine, which I am told some malicious and envious Fellows most mightily carp at:

*Let warlike Arms give Place to the peaceful Gown,
And to the Statesman's Praise the Victor yields his Crown.*

For not to say any thing of other People, when I myself sat at the Helm of the Government, did not *Arms* then give Place to the *Gown*? Never was the State in more imminent Danger, and yet never were things better and more happily quieted. Thus by my Prudence and careful Management, the most impudent and audacious of all the Citizens let, as it were, their Arms fall out of their Hands. What Action then was there ever performed in War like this? or where is the Triumph that can be compared to it? For I think I may venture a little to boast before you, SON MARK, whose Happiness it is to succeed in the Glory, and whose Duty to imitate the Excellence of my Actions: This I am sure of, even POMPEY himself (a Man the most famous for martial Atchievements) did me that Justice, in the hearing of several, as to say, "That his returning home with his third Triumph had been to little or no Purpose, unless, my Endeavours and Services to the Republick had preserved the City for him to triumph in. I conclude therefore, from what has been observed, That *that* sort of Courage which is seen in the Management of Civil Affairs, is no less deserving than that which consists in the Business of Fighting; and the former requires more Pains and Application to be perfect in it, than the latter doth.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Body ought to be so far taken Care of, as that it may be able to bear Fatigues; but it is the Mind that truly makes great Men. War should be undertaken only for the sake of Peace. The Difference between a great Soul and a great Understanding, and the Duties of each. Fighting, one of the least Parts of Courage.

NOW it is certain that Virtue, which consists in Greatness and Elevation of Soul, and makes up the Subject of our present Enquiry, is obtained by the Strength of the Mind, not the Body. However the Body ought not to be neglected, but by Exercise brought to such a Frame and Condition, as that it may obey the Prescriptions of the Mind, in performing that Business, and bearing those Fatigues which are required of it. But still the Nature of the Virtue we are seeking for, consists in due Care and Application of Mind; in which Particular, the Publick receives as much Benefit from Gown-men, who manage and take Care of its Civil Concerns, as it doth from Soldiers, who are Generals of its Armies: For they by their Prudence have often either hindred the breaking out of Wars, or else have occasioned their speedy Conclusion; and sometimes, too have been the Cause of their being undertaken, as the third with *Carthage* was entred into upon the Advice of CATO, whose Credit and Authority prevailed in that Case even after he was dead. Wisdom therefore, and Skill in determining Civil Affairs, is more to be desired than Courage in Fighting: But then we must always be careful in this Case, that our Design be not the avoiding of War, but the being more useful and serviceable to the Publick. And as for War, it should never be undertaken with any other Aim, but only that of obtaining an honourable Peace. 'Tis the Part of a brave and unshaken Spirit, not to be disturbed under any Misfortune, or suffer it self in Disorder and Tumult to be thrown off the Saddle (as we usually speak) but always to keep such a Presence of Mind, as

to be able to consult upon every Occasion, and be hurried on to nothing, but what is agreeable to Reason and Discretion. And as this is the Part of an exalted Spirit, so is what follows of an elevated Understanding; to discover Effects even while they are yet in the Wombs of their Causes, and consider beforehand whatever may happen on either Side, and accordingly what is to be done when it *does* happen; that so he may never be taken unawares, and brought to that lamentable Shift of crying out, *I never once thought of it.* These are the Duties as of a truly courageous and lofty, so of a wise and judicious Mind; but rashly to run and lay about one in Battle, and come to Wounds and downwright Blows with an Enemy, is but a savage and brutish kind of Business: However, Necessity so requiring, a Man should fight, and choose rather to part with his Life than his Liberty, or be guilty of any base or dishonourable Action.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Duty of a truly courageous Man, after he has conquered his Enemies. Cool and deliberate Counsels to be preferred before Heat and Boldness. Nothing more foolish, than to expose one's self to unnecessary Dangers. 'Tis a Duty rather to expose one's self, than the publick Affairs. They are to blame, who rather venture the Loss of their Armies, than their own Reputation. The Folly of CALLICRATIDAS and CLEOMBROTUS in this; the Wisdom of FABIUS MAXIMUS in doing the contrary. Men should speak what they think for the Good of the Publick, without regarding what Offence it may give to others.

IN the Business of razing and plundering Cities, there ought to be taken a very especial Care, that nothing of Rashness or Cruelty be shewn; and all true Greatness of Spirit obliges us, having first considered things calmly and maturely, to pardon the Multitude,

and punish those only that were principally faulty; and in every State and Condition of Fortune, to observe the just *Medium* of Virtue and Honesty: For as we have already observed of some, that they count it more noble to manage Affairs of War than of Peace, so you shall find there are a great many others, who imagine that hot and adventurous Undertakings have something that is greater and more glorious in them, than wisely cool and deliberate Counsels. Now as no Man ought, by too warily avoiding of Dangers and Labours, to get himself the Name of a Faint-heart and Coward; so, on the other hand, Care should be taken that we thrust not our selves into Hazards and Difficulties, where there is no manner of Occasion for it; than which there is no greater Folly upon Earth. It is a Duty therefore, in Attempts of any Danger, to imitate the Practice of skillful Physicians, who always to light and inconsiderable Diseases, apply none but easy and gentle Remedies; but in desperate Cases are forced to have recourse to desperate Cures. It is Madness therefore, while all things are calm in a peaceful State, to desire a Storm, but to keep off the Mischiefs of it when it does happen, is the Part of a wise and a prudent Man; and so much the more, if the Good to be obtained by getting well rid of it, out-balance the Evils you may be brought into by the Attempt. The Danger of some Actions only relates to the Person that undertakes them, but *that* of others to the whole Republick; and again, a Man's Life is endangered in some, in others his Reputation, and the Good-will of his Citizens. It is our Duty then, *in the former Case*, more willingly to expose and endanger our selves, than the whole State; and *in the latter*, to fight for our Glory and Reputation, more readily than any other Conveniencies whatever. Yet the contrary to this appears plainly in the Practice of a great many Men, who are willing to spend their Estates and Lives for the Good of their Country, but will not bear the least Diminution of their Honour, tho' the present Occasions of the Republick require it. Thus CALLICRATIDAS, Admiral of *Sparta*, in the *Peloponnesian War*,
after

after he had done many signal Services, at last was the Occasion of ruining all; for when he was advised to retreat with his Navy from *Arginussa*, and not venture giving the *Athenians* Battle, he utterly refused it; and told his Advisers, *That* if this whole Navy should chance to be lost, the *Lacedaemonians* could fit out another; but that he for his Part could never fly, without an irreparable Loss of his Honour. And here the *Lacedaemonians* had, tho' a great, yet a tolerable Blow; but that other was mortal, and put a full Period to the *Spartan* Greatness, when their Leader CLEOMBROTUS, only for fear of being somewhat ill-spoken of, unadvisedly ventured to fight EPAMINONDAS. How much better did FABIVS MAXIMVS do? concerning whom ENNIUS has these Words:

*One Man our State has saved by wise Delays:
For he regarded not the foolish Prate
Of idle People; but the City's Good.
Therefore his growing Fame now flourishes:
More, when his Deeds are past.*

THE same kind of Fault should also be avoided in Civil Administrations; for a great many Men are afraid to speak out what they really think, tho' perhaps it is for the best, for fear it should give any Offence to others.

C H A P. XXV.

Two Rules of Plato's to be observed by those who govern the State. The Good of the Governed ought to be their sole Aim. An excellent Description of a good Minister of State. Ambition very destructive in a Government. A good Saying of Plato's to that Purpose. Men should carry themselves civilly towards those who are of an opposite Party in the State, and not count them their Enemies. The Example of Scipio and Metellus. Anger towards an Adversary no Part of Courage. Affability, &c. requisite in a Statesman. Severity and Chastisements sometimes necessary; and Rules to be observed about them. Nothing can be well done that is done in a Passion. Rulers should be like the Laws themselves.

THOSE who design to be Partakers in the Government, should be sure to remember these two Precepts of PLATO; *First*, To make the Safety and Interest of their Citizens, the great Aim and Design of all their Thoughts and Endeavours, without ever considering their own personal Advantage. And, *Secondly*, So to take Care of the whole collective Body of the Republick, as not to serve the Interest of any one Party, to the Prejudice or Neglecting of all the rest. For the Government of a State is much like the Office of a Guardian or Trustee; which should always be managed for the good of the Pupil, and not of the Persons to whom he is entrusted; and those Men who, whilst they take Care of one, neglect or disregard another Part of the Citizens, do but occasion Sedition and Discord, the most destructive things in the World to a State. From whence it comes to pass, that, while some take Part with the popular Faction, and others make their Court to every great One, there is but very few left who are concerned for the Benefit and Good of the whole. From this Root have sprung many grievous Dissentions amongst the *Athenians*; and not only Tumults, but even deadly Civil Wars in our own Republick: Things which a worthy and truly brave

Citizen,

Citizen, and one who deserves to hold the Reins of the Government, will shun and detest; and will give himself to the service of the Publick, as to aim at no Riches or Power for himself; and will so take Care of the whole Community, as not to pass over any one Part of it. Such a one will scorn, by the mean Arts of Calumny and a false Accusation, to bring others into Hatred and Disrepute with the People; but will always adhere to what is just and honest, and never be drawn from it, whatever Offence may be taken by others; nay will rather part with his Life it self, than do any thing that is contrary to the Virtues I have mentioned. Eager Ambition, and contending for Honours, is of all things most ruinous and destructive to a State; concerning which PLATO had said admirably well, "That for Men "to contend and fall out with one another, about "which should be Chief in the Management of the "State, is just as if the Ship's Crew should go together by the Ears, about who should be Master or "Pilot of the Vessel." And the same Philosopher has given us this for a Rule, "That only those Men should "be reckoned as Enemies, who have taken up Arms "in Opposition to the Republick; not those who "would govern it after their own Schemes. Such was the Dissention between P. AFRICANUS and Q. METELLUS, without any great Bitterness or Animosities between them. Some People think it the Part of a brave and heroick Spirit, to shew Heat of Anger and Passion against an Adversary; but what they say is by no means to be regarded; for it is certain, on the other hand, nothing is more laudable, nothing more worthy of a great and brave Person, than Clemency, Meekness, and Gentleness of Spirit. In Cities that are free, and where all Men in common enjoy the same Privileges, Courtesy, and Affability, and that which they call *altitudo animi*, a calm and undisturbed Temper of Mind, are peculiarly requisite: For to fret upon every unseasonable Visit, or at every impertinent and troublesome Petitioner, makes a Man sowre and morose in his Humour; which, as it brings no kind of Good to himself, so it gets him the Hatred and Ill-will of others. But tho' Meekness

Meekness and Clemency be laudable Virtues, yet no further than as they leave room for a just Severity, whenever the Occasions of the Publick require it; without which a City can never be well governed. Now every Reproof and Chastisement, *in the first place*, should be always free from contumelious Language, and not inflicted for the sake of the Person chastising or reproving another, but the Good and Advantage of the whole Republick. Diligent Care should be taken, *in the next place*, that the Penalty be proportioned to the Nature of the Crime; and that some do not pass without ever being questioned, while others are punished for the same Misdemeanors. But of all things, Anger should be excluded in punishing; for whoever comes to this Work in a Passion, will never observe that due Mediocrity, which equally abstains from too much and too little, so strictly required by the Peripatetick Schools: And they have very good Reason indeed to require it; but then I cannot but wonder they should commend Anger, and say, Nature has given it us to good Ends and Purposes: For *that* in Truth ought in no Case to be allowed of; and it were heartily to be wished that the Governors of a State would, in this Particular, be like the Laws themselves, which punish Offenders according to Justice, without being any ways guided by Passion.

CHAP. XXVI.

Greatness of Soul requires an even Temper, free from Haughtiness in Prosperity, and Dejectedness in Adversity. Philip greater than Alexander, in bearing his good Fortune with an even Mind. The higher Men are, the more Care they should take of being humble and moderate. An admirable Saying of Scipio to this Purpose. In Prosperity we should especially consult our Friends, and have a Care of Flatterers. Greatness of Soul seen often among the Philosophers, and those who in private manage their own Estates. How an Estate should be got, improved, and used.

ANOTHER great Duty of Fortitude, is not to be haughty, disdainful, and arrogant when Fortune

tune favours us, and all things go forward according to our Wishes: For it shews as much Meanness and Poorness of Spirit to be transported with *good*, as it does with *ill* Fortune; whereas, on the other hand, nothing is more brave than an Evenness of Temper in every Condition, and (as is reported of SOCRATES and LÆLIUS) a constant retaining the same Air in one's Countenance, without ever seeming puffed up or dejected. I find that PHILIP, the King of Macedonia, was inferior to his Son in the outward Glory and Splendor of his *Atchievements*, but very far above him in good Nature and Condescension; therefore the Father kept always the Character of a great Person, whereas the Son often was guilty of base and dishonourable Actions. It is a good Rule therefore, I think, which is given by some Men, *That the higher our Station in the World is, the more Care we should take of our Lives and Actions, that they be kept within the Compass of Lowliness and Humility.* PANÆTIUS tells us it was an usual Saying with his Scholar and familiar Friend AFRICANUS, 'That Men who give the Reins to their
' vicious Appetites, and are high and presuming upon the Greatness of their Fortunes, should be dealt
' with like Horses, when grown fierce and unruly by frequent Engagements: For as *these* are delivered to
' Breakers to tame, and be made fit for riding; so
' *those* should be brought within the Barriers and Limits of Reason and Philosophy, to teach them the
' Uncertainty of all humane things, and the great Volubility and Changeableness of Fortune.' We should also in Prosperity more especially make use of the Counsel of our Friends, and pay more Respect and DefERENCE to their Advices, than we were wont to do. At the same time also we should take a great Care, that we do not give over-much Ear to Flatterers, nor suffer ourselves to be wheedled and imposed upon by their deceitful Words: For there is nothing wherein we are more apt to be mistaken, than in this Particular; every one having such a fond Conceit and Opinion of himself, as to think he deserves those Applauses which they give him. Hence spring innumerable Errors in
our

our Lives; whilst Men, puffed up with a vain Imagination, and mistaken Notions of their own great Merit, are exposed to the Raillery of all the World besides, and are cheated into great and dangerous Mistakes. And so much may suffice upon this Head. From what has been said we may easily gather, That those who are over Affairs of the Publick, do the greatest Actions, and such as express the most Bravery of Mind; their Business affording them more Opportunities, and their being more Men who are concerned in *this*, than in any *other* Method of Living whatever. But after all, we cannot but acknowledge there *are*, and *have been*, a great many noble Spirits, even in a Life of Retirement and Privacy, who being sequestered from the Business of the World, have given up themselves to Enquiries after Truth, and the great Concernment of the Practice of Virtue: Or else leading a Life in the Middle, as it were, between the Statesman and Philosopher, have been delighted with the Management of their own private Fortunes; not scraping up Money by all manner of ways, or hoarding it so as to make no Body the better for it; but parting with it freely for the sake of their Friends, or to serve the Republick, when Occasion required it. Now this private Estate I would have, in the *first Place*, to be *honestly* come by, not by any base, scandalous, or invidious way of gaining: *Then* let it be distributed to the Uses and Necessaries of as many as is possible, provided they are worthy and deserving People; and let it be encreased by such ordinary Methods of Saving and good Husbandry, as are agreeable to the Dictates of Reason and Prudence: And *lastly*, let none of it be spent in Debauchery and luxurious Living, but in Acts of Munificence and Liberality towards others. Whoever observes these Measures laid down, (let his way of Life be either publick or private) may perform all the Duties of Magnanimity, Constancy, and Greatness of Soul, as well as of Sincerity, Fidelity, and doing Good to Mankind.

C H A P. XXVII.

The Virtues contained under the fourth Head of Honesty. Whatever is honest, and nothing else but that, is becoming a Man; Honesty and Decency being really the same thing, and distinguished only by an Act of the Mind. Two sorts of Decorum, and what the Nature of each of them is.

WE are now in the next Place to speak of the fourth, and only remaining Part of Virtue or Honesty, under which are comprehended Bashfulness, Temperance, Modesty, Government of the Passions, and the observing a just Order as to Time and Place in our Words and Actions; from all which arises a certain engaging kind of Beauty and Gracefulness, which serves to set off and adorn our Lives. Under this Head is contained that Becomingness [*Decorum*, as we call it in *Latin*] which among the *Greeks* has the Name of *πρέπον*; which is in its Nature so closely united and riveted to Honesty, that there is no way left of pulling them asunder; for whatever is *becoming* is likewise *honest*, and whatever is *honest* is likewise *becoming*. The Difference between them is so very small, that we may better conceive what it is, than explain it; for whatever Becomingness there is in any Action, it immediately arises from the Honesty of it. From hence it appears that Becomingness does not peculiarly belong to this one Part of Honesty, whereof we are now undertaking to discourse, but shews itself also in each of the three former. To reason, for Instance, and discourse according to the Rules of *Prudence*; to go about nothing but after due Consideration, and on every Occasion to be quick at espying and defending the Truth, are things that are *becoming*; whereas to be deceived, to be in an Error or Mistake, and to be imposed upon, are very *unbecoming*, as well as to be mad or besides one's self. So again, all Actions of *Justice* are *becoming*, but those of *Injustice* are both scandalous and unbecoming. The same may be said as to the

Actions

Actions of *Fortitude*; whatever is done with a manful Courage and Bravery of Mind, as it is *worthy* of, so it *becomes* a Man; but whatever, on the other hand, shews any Cowardice or Meanness of Spirit, is as contrary to Becomingness as it is to true Virtue. I conclude therefore, That the Decency whereof I am now discoursing, appertaineth to each of the four Parts of Honesty; and so appertaineth, as not to stand in need of any mighty Reach of Understanding to perceive it, but is easily discoverable at the first View: For there is something of Becoming contained in the very Notion and Idea of all Virtue, from which it is distinguished by the Mind alone, and not by the Nature of the thing itself. Just as the Beauty and good Colour of the Countenance can never be separate from the Health of the Body, so this Becomingness, of which we are speaking, in itself is all one, and, as it were, incorporate with Virtue and Honesty; but may be distinguished from it by Thought and Imagination. Now there are *two kinds* or sorts of it; the one *universal*, which belongs to the Nature of Honesty in general; the other *particular*, and contained under this, which belongs to the *several Parts* of it. The former is used to be thus defined; *Decorum, or Becoming, is that which is congruous or agreeable to that excellent Part of the Nature of Man, by which he is distinguish'd from the rest of the Creation.* As for the latter, which is contained under this, it is usually described and defined to be *that, which is in such Manner agreeable to the Nature of Man, as withal to shew something of Temper and Moderation, with a certain sweet Air of Gentility and good Manners.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Poetical Decorum what it is, and how differing from that we here speak of. Nature has given us a Character of Reason, &c. which we ought to live up to. Nature teaches us to have a Respect for other Men. Proportion, Regularity, &c. please where-ever they are found. We ought to be concerned about other Peoples Opinion of us. How the Duties of Justice, and those of Modesty, Decency, &c. differ. We should live agreeably to Nature, which will always lead us right. Decency relates both to the Actions of the Body and Mind. The Nature or Mind of Man consists of Sense and Reason. The former of these ought to obey the latter.

THAT this is so, will more plainly appear, if we consider that *Decorum* or Convenience of Manners, which the Poets aim at in all their Writings; concerning which, were it any wise necessary to my present Purpose, I might largely discourse. Suffice it at present for me only to observe, That the Poets are then said to keep this *Decorum*, when each of their Persons is brought in saying and doing those things, which are suitable to the Character he bears in the World. Should *Æacus*, for Example, or *MINOS* say,

E'en let them hate me, whilst they dread me too.

Or,

The Child's entomb'd in its own Parents Bowels.

it would be an Offence against the Rules of *Decency*, because they pass in the World for Men of Justice and Honesty; but let the same be said by a cruel *ATREUS*, and the whole Theatre shall clap and applaud it, because it is a Saying very agreeable to his Character. Now the Poet can judge what is becoming and convenient for every Person, according to the Character which he bears in the Poem: But Nature has given every

every one of us a Character, by endowing us with that Nobleness and Excellence of Being, whereby we are set above all other Creatures. The Poets then, there being so great a Variety of Characters, can see what is becoming and convenient for all, even the most vitious: But we have got only one Character to live up to, I mean that which is assigned us by Nature herself: a *Character of Temperance and Modesty, of Constancy and Moderation*. And the same Nature having also taught us, That we ought to be careful of our Carriage and Demeanour towards the rest of Men: From hence it appears of how large an Extent that Becomingness is, which belongs to the Nature of *Honesty in general*, and also that other, which is seen in the Exercise of the *several kinds of it*. For as the Beauty and Comeliness of the Body, draws the Eyes to it by the fit Composition of all its Members, and pleases us only upon this Account, because all its Parts correspond with a kind of Proportion and Harmony; so this Decorum, which gives a sort of Lustre and Grace to our Lives, engages the Approbation and Esteem of all we live with, by that just and due Order, Consistency, and Regularity, which it keeps up and maintains in our Words and Actions. We ought to have therefore a certain Respect and Reverence for all Men, and desire to be approved not only by the best, but by all the World: For not to care a Farthing what it is People think of one, is a Sign not only of Pride and Conceitedness, but indeed of having perfectly abandoned all Modesty. But here we must observe, that there is a great deal of Difference between that which Justice, and that which this Modesty, Respect, or Reverence demands, in relation to other People. It is the Duty of Justice, not to injure or wrong any Man; of Respect or Reverence, not to do any thing that may offend or displease him; wherein more especially the Nature of that Decorum we are speaking of consists. These things then being thus explained, I suppose it may clearly enough appear what that is which we mean by *Becoming*. As for the Duties prescribed by it, the first thing to which it conducts us is, To demean ourselves

selves suitably and agreeably to our Nature, and do nothing that may any ways stain or deface it: For whilst we take *this* for our Guide and Conductress, it is impossible we should ever go out of the way; but by her shall be led through all the Paths of Wisdom, Truth, and Understanding; of Justice and Beneficence toward the Society of Mankind; and of true Magnanimity and Greatness of Soul. But the Nature of Decency is more peculiarly seen in the fourth Part of Honesty, concerning which we are now discoursing; and relates not only to the Motions of the Body, but more especially to those of the Mind also; each of which then are approved and becoming, when they are such as are suitable to Nature. Now the Whole of the Nature or Mind of Man, is made up of only these two Parts: The *first* consists in the sensitive Appetite, which by the *Greeks* is called *ὁρμη*; by the blind and extravagant Impulse of which, he is hurried and transported from one thing to another: The *second* in Reason, which shews and instructs him in the way of his Duty, telling him what he should *do*, and what *not do*: From whence it follows, That it is Reason which ought to be the governing Faculty; and the Appetite subject to the Commands of it.

C H A P. XXIX.

Our Actions should neither be rash nor careless, &c.

How the Sensitive Part should be subject to the Reasonable. Passion disorders the Body as well as Mind. Watchfulness and Consideration necessary for the subduing of the Passions. Men were not designed by Nature for jesting, &c. but serious Studies. Several sorts of Feasts and Diversions. Measures to be observed about them.

EVERY Action therefore should be free, as from Precipitancy and Rashness on the one hand, so from all Carelessness and Negligence on the other; nor should any thing be done, for which we cannot give a sufficient

sufficient *Reason*; which is almost the very Definition of Duty. In order to this, the Passions must be brought under the Power of Reason, so as neither thro' Hastiness to run before its Orders, nor thro' Coldness and Heaviness to disregard them when given; but all their Motions must be so quieted and restrained, as to bring no Uneasiness or Disturbance to the Mind. And from this calm and peaceable State of the Soul, arises that Constancy and Moderation we have mention'd: For when once the Passions grow unruly and extravagant, and refuse to be guided in their Desires and Aversions by the Rules of Prudence, they will run without Question beyond all Bounds and Measure; for they abandon and cast off their Allegiance to *Reason*, which they ought to obey by the Constitution of Nature. By this means are all things turned topsy-turvy, and not the *Mind* only, but even the *Body* also, put very much into Disorder and Confusion. Do but mark those who are enflamed with a vehement *Anger* or *Desire*; who are transported with *Fear*, or an over great *Joy*; and you will see an Alteration in their Countenances, Voices, Gestures, and all their Actions; which sufficiently gives us to understand (that we may return again to the Duty now before us) how necessary it is to restrain and give check to the Movements of the Appetite, and to be always watchful and standing upon our Guard, that To we may neither be careless and inconsiderate, nor do any thing rashly and at all Adventures. For Mankind were never designed by Nature meerly to support and idle away their Time, but to follow after grave and serious Studies, and business of greater Importance than Play is. Not but that Jestings and Diversion are allowable, provided we use them but as we do Sleep, and other such necessary Refreshments of Nature, viz. after the Discharge of our serious and more important Duties. And even then we must see that our Jestings be neither excessive nor immodest; but such as is handsome and becoming a Gentleman. For as Boys are allowed not all kinds of Sports, but only such as have nothing

thing that is vicious or ill in them; so in this Jestings we should allow ourselves nothing, but what is agreeable to Honesty and good Manners. We may therefore observe, that Jestings or Merriment is of two sorts, the *one* clownish, abusive, scandalous, and obscene, the *other* handsome, genteel, ingenious, and truly pleasant. Of this kind are several Instances to be met with, as in our *PLAUTUS*, and the *old Greek* Comedians; so in the Writings of the Socratick Philosophers; to which we may add the ingenious Sayings of several Men, such as are collected by the Senior *CATO*, and usually go by the Name of *Apothegms*. There is no great Difficulty then to distinguish between a genteel and clownish Jest; the *one*, if brought in at seasonable Time, and when a Man's Mind is disengaged from Business, is becoming for a Gentleman; the *other*, for no Man at all indeed, when base and unhandsome things are dressed up in filthy and obscene Expressions. Our Plays and Recreations must also be kept within their due Bounds; and Care should be taken that we do not run out into great Excesses, and suffer the Pleasure which we take in them to carry us into any thing that is base or unbecoming. Hunting, and the Exercises of the *Campus Martius*, supply us with Examples enough of creditable and manly Recreations.

CHAP. XXX.

The Excellence of Man's Nature above that of Brutes necessary to be considered. Wherein it consists, Some are really Beasts under the Shape of Men. Sensual Pleasures, Effeminacy, &c. unbecoming Mens Nature. Beside Reason, which is the common Nature of all Men, each Man has his particular Nature or Genius. The Difference of Men's particular Natures or Dispositions, shewn by a large Number of Examples.

BUT in all Enquiries concerning what becomes us, it is of very great Moment to be constantly reflecting how much Man's Nature excels that of Beasts and inferior

ferior Animals. These have no Taste or Relish for any thing but the Pleasures of the Body, towards which they are carried with a great deal of Eagerness; whereas nothing is more agreeable and nourishing, as it were, to the Mind of Man, than Learning and Contemplation. Hence he is always a seeking or contriving of something that is new, and is greatly delighted with seeing and hearing, for the Increase of his Knowledge. And if there is any one too much addicted to sensual Pleasures, unless he is transform'd into a meer Brute, (for some such there are, who are Men in Name, and not in Reality) but if, I say, any one is too much addicted, and suffers himself to be conquered by Pleasures; yet, for very Shame, he will hide and conceal his Propensions towards it, as much as is possible. And what is this now but a plain Indication, that sensual Pleasures are unbecoming the Dignity of a reasonable Creature, and ought to be despised and rejected by it? and that whoever sets any Value upon them, should be sure to take Care that he keep within the Limits of Reason and Moderation? From hence it follows, that we should not have any respect to Pleasure, but only to the Preservation of our Health and Strength, in our Victuals, Cloaths, and other Conveniencies belonging to the Body. And does not the Consideration of the same Dignity and Excellence of our Natures, plainly inform us how base and unworthy a thing it is to dissolve in Luxury, Softness, and Effeminacy? And how brave and becoming it is, on the other hand, for a Man to lead a Life of Frugality and Temperance, of Strictness and Sobriety? And here we must observe, that Nature has given us, as it were, a *double* Part to be acted in the World: The *first* is extended to all Men in common, forasmuch as we are all Partakers of Reason, and that Prerogative of our Nature, whereby we are exalted above other Animals; it is this that conducts us in the finding out our Duty, and from it all Honesty and Becomingness arises: The *second* is appropriate to each in particular; for as there is a great deal of Difference in Bodies, (some being nimble and proper for running, others more lusty, and fitter for wrestling; some of a

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noble and majestick Air, others of a sweet and engaging kind of Beauty;) so there is no less, or rather a far greater Variety in Humours. Thus LUCIUS CRASSUS and LUCIUS PHILIPPUS were Men of a great deal of Wit and Pleasantry: CAIUS, the Son of LUCIUS CÆSAR, of more than they, and a great deal more studied. Whereas the young DRUSUS and SCAURUS, at the same time, were Men of extraordinary Gravity and Severity. LÆLIUS had abundance of Mirth and Gaiety; his Familiar SCIPIO much more Ambition, and greater Austerity and Strictness of Living. Amongst the *Greeks*, SOCRATES is said to have been one, that was of a very easy and facetious Humour; that always loved to be merry and jesting, and was a mighty Artist at hiding his Meaning under witty Ironies and drolling Expressions, (which sort of Men are by the *Grecians* called εἰρῶνες;) whereas PERICLES and PYTHAGORAS got themselves Credit by being of exactly the contrary Temper, HANNIBAL among the *Carthaginian* Generals, and amongst our own FABIUS, was crafty and subtle; one that knew how to disguise his Intentions and keep his Counsel; that could make Shew of one thing, whilst he was really designing another; of exquisite Skill for contriving of Stratagems, and preventing those laid by the Enemy against himself. In this kind the *Grecians* give JASON the *Phæacian*, and THEMISTOCLES, the Preference before any others; and there is one thing of SOLON's, which shews he had his share of this Cunning and Subtilty, when he feigned himself distracted to save his own Life, and withal to do a good Piece of Service to the Publick. There are others to be found of just an opposite Humour, who think it unlawful to do any thing by Stratagem and underhand Dealing, but are all for Simplicity and Plainness in their Actions; Lovers of open and undisguised Truth, but Haters of every thing that looks like a Trick. There are some that will undergo any thing in the World, fawn and crouch to any manner of Person, if they can but obtain their own Ends and Designs by it; as MARCUS CRASSUS we know did to SYLLA, Of which sort of crafty and complying kind

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of

of People LYSANDER the *Lacedamonian* is said to have been the chief; whereas CALLICRATIDAS, who was Admiral of the Navy next after LYSANDER, was quite the contrary. *Again*, There is as great a Variety in Mens ways of Discourse, as in their Humours and Complexions: Some who are able to speak very nobly, can yet suit their Language to the Humours and Capacities of the ignorant Vulgar; as I remember CATULLUS, Father and Son, as also MUTIUS MANCIA could do; and I have heard old People relate the same of SCIPIO NASICA; but his Father, on the contrary, he who, by slaying TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, put a full End to his ruinous Attempts, had none of that affable familiar way of speaking. No more had XENOCRATES, the most rigid and severe of all the Philosophers; and for that very Reason was noted and eminent. *In short*, There is almost an infinite Number of these different Natures and Characters in Men, not one of which is in itself to be condemned.

C H A P. XXXI.

Every one should follow his own Genius, so far as it is innocent. Uniformity or Consistency most becoming a Man, which cannot be kept if we run counter to our own Natures. The great Force of this Difference in Mens Natures. Custom of the Actors on the Stage. Several other Rules relating to the same.

THE more easily then to arrive at that Decorum of which we are speaking, let every one stick to his own *peculiar* Character and Humour, provided it has nothing that is vicious in it: I say, *provided it has nothing that is vicious in it*; for we should always take a particular Care to do nothing that is contrary to that *universal Character* which Nature has imprinted on every one of us; but saving the Reverence we owe to *that*, then to live according to our own particular one, so as to follow after that kind of Study, and apply our
Selves

selves to that Course of Life, which is most suitable and agreeable to our own Inclinations, tho' others perhaps may be more useful and important; for it is in vain to struggle against the Bias of your Nature, or at first to set upon that sort of Business which you can never arrive at any Perfection in. From what has been said it more fully appears, what that is which we call *Becoming*; since nothing can be such, that is done (as we say) in despite of Nature, i. e. contrary to the Bent and Tendency of a Man's Genius. Now it is certain, if any thing in the World is becoming, it is a constant Uniformity in our whole Lives and particular Actions; which is utterly impossible we should ever maintain, so long as we run counter to our own Inclinations, and foolishly follow after those of other People: For as we should use our own native Language, which all are supposed to understand best, and not *lard* our Talk (as a great many do) with Expressions out of *Greek*, who are therefore deservedly laughed at by others; so we should keep to one constant Tenour and regular Conduct in our Lives and Actions, so that nothing may be in them which is not well suited, and of a Piece with the rest. And this Difference in the Characters or Natures of Men is of so great Moment, as that in consequence of it one Man may be obliged to make away with himself, whilst another, tho' like him as to all other Circumstances, may be obliged to the contrary. CATO, for Instance, and those who in *Africk* surrendered themselves to CÆSAR, were all of them under the same Condition; and yet any of the rest might perhaps have been blamed for it, had they murdered themselves so as CATO did, because they were Men of less Strictness in their Lives, and less Severity in their Manners. But CATO was a Person whom Nature had endowed with incredible Firmness and Strength of Soul, which he had augmented by perpetual Constancy, and unalterably adhering to his once undertaken Designs and Resolutions: It became his Character therefore to die, rather than to see the Face of the Tyrant. How many things did ULYSSES undergo in his tedious Wandrings, when he was forced

to be at the Pleasure of Women, (if CIRCE and CALYPSO may be called Women) and by tawning Words, and fair complaisant Speeches, wheedle himself into the Favour of all he met with? How did he bear the contemptuous Usage of his Servants and Maids, even in his own Palace, that at last he might arrive at his wish'd for End? Whereas AJAX, according to the Character we have of him, would rather have died you a thousand Deaths, than ever have submitted to such mean Compliances. These Observations should teach us all to look carefully every one into himself, and consider well what is his peculiar Genius, and endeavour to make the best use of it he is able; and not to be foolishly trying Experiments, to see how he can succeed in what is another Body's Talent: For it is certain, that nothing becomes a Man so well, as that which is best suited to his own Inclinations. Every one therefore should inform himself thorowly which way his Humour and Genius lies; and be severe in examining what he is well fitted or not fitted for; otherwise the Players may seem to be wiser than we are; for they, when they pitch upon what they will act, do not always choose those Parts that are best, but those that are best suited to their Humours and Abilities. They that have the ablest Voices, for Instance, EPIGONI or MEDUS; they that have most Action, MENALIPPA or CLYTEMNESTRA; RUPILIUS, whom I remember, always had ANTIOPA, and ÆSOP very rarely AJAX. And shall Actors observe this in choosing their Parts, and wise Men not do it in choosing their Business and way of living in the World! We should therefore apply ourselves especially to that which we find most agreeable to the Bent of our Natures; but if we should chance to be driven upon any thing which is not so proper for our Parts and Talents, we should make it our Business, by Care and Application, if not to go thro' with it the most perfectly that is possible, yet at least with as few Faults as ever we are able. And let us rather labour to avoid those Vices which we are naturally inclin'd to, than try to arrive at those Excellencies and Perfections which we were never made for.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXII.

Duties arising from Men, several Stations and Professions in the World. They whose Fathers have been famous, imitate their Virtues, or add to them. The Choice of a Profession very difficult. Prodicus's Story of Hercules. What usually determines Men in the Choice of a way of Life.

BUT beside those two Parts which I have already mentioned, there are still two others remaining behind: The *one* is allotted us by Time and Chance; the *other* we ourselves choose voluntarily to ourselves. To the first appertain one's being a King, a General, or a Magistrate; coming of a great Family; having Riches and Power; together with the Contraries of all these; which are all of them things that depend upon Fortune, and alter according to the Difference of Times. As for the *second*, it is altogether left to our own Choice what sort of Calling we have a Mind to be of: Accordingly some chuse to study Philosophy, others the Civil Law, and a third sort Eloquence: And of the Virtues themselves, some are desirous of being eminent in one kind, and some in another. Now those Men whose Fathers or Ancestors have been eminent in any one kind, for the most part endeavour to excel in the same: As QUINTUS the Son of PUBLIUS MUCIUS did in the Civil Law; AFRICANUS the Son of PAULUS in Martial Atchievements. And some, not content with the Glory of their Ancestors, have added something else of their own to it; as that AFRICANUS, whom I just now mentioned, who beside his great Fame for military Exploits, made himself noted for his Learning and Eloquence. The same did TIMOTHEUS the Son of CONON, who was equal to his Father in the Glory of War, and obtained that of Learning and Ingenuity besides. But it happens sometimes, that, omitting to tread in the Steps of their Fathers, some take new Methods and Designs of their own; which, generally speaking, is the Case with those who are born

of mean Parents, and propose to rise and make their Fortunes in the World. Each of these things should be thoroughly considered and revolved in our Minds, whenever we deliberate about what will *become* us. The first thing then to be determined is, what sort of Men we design to be, and what Course of Living to take to in the World; which is a Case of all others the most hazardous and difficult. For *when* People are young, and consequently most foolish, they generally pitch upon that way of Life which *then* best pleases their unexperienced Fancies; so that they are fixed and engaged in a certain Course, before they have the Judgment to discern what is best. PRODICUS indeed (as I find it in XENOPHON) tells us this Story concerning HERCULES, 'That when he was a Youth, (which is the proper Season allotted by Nature for chusing a Way of Life) he withdrew himself into a solitary Place, and there having found out a couple of Ways, the one of *Pleasure*, and the other of *Virtue*, he sat musing, and considered a while with himself, which of these two he had best to follow.' Such a thing as this might happen to HERCULES a SON of JUPITER; but it is not for us to expect the same, who each of us take whom we please for our Patterns, and suffer our selves to be drawn any whither, according as they lead us. We have most of us Principles instilled by our Parents, and follow their Customs and Manners of Living; others are guided by popular Opinion, and like that *best* which takes with the *most*. However, there are some, whether it be out of meer good Fortune, or an happy Temper and Disposition of Soul; or, lastly, by the Care and Instructions of their Parents, that pursue right Methods and Ways of living.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Few so happy, as to consider thoroughly what way of Life they should chuse. The principal thing to be regarded in chusing, is one's own Genius; next to that, one's Fortune in the World. After a Man has chose, he should stick to his Choice, without great Reasons to the contrary. How a Change should be made. Two Cautions to be observed about imitating our Ancestors. Those Men whose Nature is not capable of some, should take the more Care that they have other Virtues. The best Inheritance a Father can leave his Son, is the Fame of his Virtues. It is a mighty Shame for a Son to be unworthy of the Fame of his Ancestors.

BUT those of all are the most difficult to be found, who having sufficient natural Parts, or sufficient Improvements of Learning and Education, or both these together, have withal had due time to consider with themselves what is the best Course of Life they can follow in the World. Now in this Deliberation, the principal thing which we ought to regard is, each Man's peculiar Nature and Genius: For since the Decorum of each particular Action, as before was observ'd, is taken from the Disposition of the Person that does it; sure that Disposition should be carefully consulted, before we determine upon our whole way of Living; it is otherwise impossible we should keep a due Tenour and Consistency in our Lives, and not sometimes falter in the Performance of our Duty. But tho' Nature in this Case has much the greater Sway, yet Fortune comes in for a Share next after her: Both of them therefore should be duly consulted in making choice of a Calling, but more especially Nature; for Fortune is unconstant and often changing, but Nature is firm, and will abide by us; so that for the former to oppose this latter, is like a mortal Power's contending with an immortal. That Man then, who has chose a way of Living that is suitable to his Nature, (provided *that* Nature be no ways vicious) should

make it his next Care never to alter it; for nothing is less becoming than a Humour of changing. But if upon Trial he should find that he was mistaken in the choice of his Method, (as it is possible such a thing sometime may happen) there is no way left but to unravel again what is already done. If the Times themselves favour the making such a Change, it may be the more easily and conveniently done; but if not, it must be brought about gradually and insensibly; according to that Rule which is given by wise Men. Whenever you design to break off any Friendship or displeasing Acquaintance, you should loosen the Knot by little and little, and not try to cut it asunder all at once. And when by this Means we have changed our Course of Life, great Care should be taken that we may seem to have done it upon very good Reasons. But having before recommended the Imitation of our Fathers and Ancestors, I must here interpose an Exception or two: In the first place then, we should take great Care not to follow them in any thing that is vicious or blameable; nor, secondly, should we attempt it, when we find our Constitution will not carry us through with it. Thus, for Instance, the Son of the former AFRICANUS, (who adopted this *latter* being Son to PAULLUS) by reason of the Weakness and Indisposition of his Body, could not so well tread in the Steps of his Father, as his Father had done in those of his Grandfather. But then if a Man be of such a Constitution, as that he is unable either to plead at the Bar, or to harangue the People, or conduct an Army, he should take the more Care that he do those things which *are* in his Power; such are the Duties of Justice and Fidelity, of Modesty, Temperance, and Liberality; the Performance of which may serve to make amends for his want of the others. Now the noblest Inheritance that can be left by a Father to his Son, and far exceeding *that* of Houses and Lands, is the Fame of his Virtues and glorious Actions; and for a Son to live so as is unworthy of the Name and Reputation of his Ancestors, is the basest and most abominable thing in the World.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The respective Duties belonging to each Age. Old Men should have an Eye upon Youth. Vice is doubly evil in old Men, because of the ill Example given to the Young. The Duties of Magistrates, private Citizens, and Strangers. Nothing more becoming in all sorts of People than Constancy and Regularity.

AND since each Age has its respective Duties belonging to it; and the same things become not both Young and Old, I must add something also upon this Distinction. It is required then of the younger sort of People, that they pay due Reverence to those that are old, and choose out the best and most approved among them, by whose Counsel and Direction they may steer their Lives; for indeed the Unskilfulness and Ignorance of Youth, does stand in some need of the Prudence of old Age to be its Guide and Director. This Age especially should be kept from all loose and effeminate living, and be inured to Labour, and enduring Hardships both of Body and Mind; that so they may be able to bear with the Toils and Fatigues of Business, whether in Peace or War: And if they do at any time slacken their Minds, and give themselves up to their Pleasures and Refreshments, great Care should be taken that they exceed not the Limits of Temperance and Modesty. And in order to this, it would be very convenient, if some aged People would keep a constant Eye upon their Sports and Recreations. As for old Men, it is their Duty to lessen the Labours of the Body, and employ more frequently those of the Mind; and make it their Business, by prudent and wise Counsels, to do what Good they can to the younger sort of People, to their Friends and Dependants, and more especially to the Republick. And old Men of all things should especially be careful, not to languish out their Days in unprofitable Idleness. Luxury and Riot is unbecoming in all, but is perfectly scandalous and intolerable in old Age: But should Lust and Wantonness come into the Bargain, those who are guilty of it are doubly faulty; for first
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they bring a Shame and Disgrace upon themselves, and withal make the young Men more shamelessly wicked. Beside these Duties already mentioned, it may not be amiss to say something of those which peculiarly belong either to Magistrates, private Citizens, or Strangers. First then, a Magistrate ought to consider, *that* he does in his Person represent the whole City, and accordingly is bound to maintain the Credit and Dignity of it: *That* he is to preserve the Laws, and see that all People have their due Rights; remembering that these things are committed to his Trust, which he is bound to render up faithfully and honestly. It is the Duty of those in a private Capacity to live as the rest of their Citizens do, neither debasing themselves below their just Height, nor endeavouring to raise themselves up above it; and to follow those things which are honest and peaceable in the Common-wealth: These are they whom we usually call and account good Citizens. And, *lastly*, for Strangers and Sojourners in a Place, it is their Duty to follow their own Business, and not intermeddle with any Body's else, not to take upon them in what no way concerns them, or be curious in prying into the Secrets of a State which they have nothing to do with. By observing these Rules, we may, generally speaking, be sure to find our Duty, whenever it is enquired what is suitable and becoming for such a *Person*, such a *Time*, or such an *Age*: I shall only add, that in all our Designs and all our Undertakings, nothing is more becoming than Constancy and Regularity.

C H A P. XXXV.

Decorum shews itself outwardly in three things. Rules of Modesty taken from Nature in the Frame of our Bodies. Obscene Talk discovers ill Inclinations. The false Reasoning of the Cynicks and some Stoicks upon this Subject. Rules of exterior Decency in our Carriage, Postures, &c. The great Care the old Romans took of Modesty.

BUT seeing this Decorum, of which we are speaking, is seen more especially, and discovers itself in our Actions, our Words, and our Carriage and exterior Ornaments of the Body, and consists in one of these three things, in a certain kind of natural Beauty and Comeliness, in Pertinence and well-timing our Words and Actions, and such other kind of Ornaments and outward Embellishments as are proper for the Business one is going about (things which it is no easy matter to express, but I hope I am understood, and that is sufficient;) and seeing that Care which we ought to take, of making our selves agreeable to those we converse with, consists in a due Regulation of these; I shall proceed to discourse of them each in particular. In the first Place then it may be worth our observing, how much Care and Concern has been shewn by Nature, in ordering the Frame and Composition of our Bodies: Those Parts which were handsome and agreeable to the Sight, she has placed in view; but those which could not be so handsomely shewn, and were only given to serve certain Ends and Necessities of Nature, these she has been careful to conceal and cover. A Sense of Shame and Modesty in Men has seconded this her Diligence in framing their Bodies; for all that are not wholly bereaved of their Reason, keep those Parts hidden which she has concealed, and are always as secret as they can in those Actions which natural necessity forces them upon. Neither do they call by their proper and broad Name the Parts that are given to serve such Necessity,
nor

nor the Ules of them; and Modesty forbids us to mention those things, which may be done very honestly, provided it be in secret. Therefore the plain and open *talking* of those things, as well as the plain and open *acting* of them, discovers immodest and wanton Inclinations. The *Cynicks* therefore are wholly to be rejected, and some of the *Stoicks* little better than *Cynicks*, who laugh at and blame us for calling those things by their proper Names which are really dishonest and scandalous in themselves, while we count it a Shame to speak plainly of those, in the doing of which there is no manner of Dishonesty. To *rob*, for Example, to *cheat*, and *whore*, are Actions in themselves the most shameful and scandalous, and yet it is not counted immodest to name them; whereas to *make one's self a Father of Children*, is an Action that is honest and creditable in itself, and yet forsooth must not be plainly mentioned, for fear of its giving Offence to chaste Ears. This, and much more to the same Purpose, they commonly urge against Modesty and Bashfulness: But let us follow where Nature has shewed us the way, and whatever may offend either the Eyes or Ears, *that* let us shun in our Carriage and Conversation. In all our Postures and Gestures of Body, such as standing, walking, sitting, and leaning; nay in our very Countenance, in the Cast of our Eyes, and Motions of our Hands, we should be careful to keep and observe what is becoming: In which there is a double Extream to be avoided, *that* of too much Niceness and Effeminacy on the one hand, and *that* of meer Clownishness and want of Breeding on the other. Nor let any one imagine that these things do well in an Actor or Orator; but that we are left free to observe, or not observe them. The Actors indeed have had always so much regard for Modesty, as *that*, Time out of Mind, it has been their Custom never to appear upon the Stage in publick, without something on to conceal those Parts which ought to be kept secret; for fear lest their Cloaths being opened by any Accident, some thing might be seen which Modesty bids them hide. And our common Custom forbids the Son, when grown towards Man's Estate, to bath with his

his Father, and likewise the Son-in-law with his Father-in-law. We should therefore take Care to be strict Observers of these Rules of Modesty, especially being such as even Nature herself has directed us to.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Two sorts of Beauty, one proper for Men, the other for Women. Men should avoid Niceness, &c. Nothing affected can become. Rules about Cloaths, Walking, and outward Ornaments. Outward Carriage discovers the inward Dispositions of the Mind. More Care should be taken to keep Decency in the Motions of the Soul. How this may be done. Two sorts of Motions in the Soul, the sensitive Appetite and Reason. How each should be managed.

BUT since there are two sorts of Beauty in the World, one of which consists in Charms and Sweetness, the other in Gracefulness and Majesty; the former of these should be left to the Women, and the latter only be thought proper for the Men. From hence it follows, that *these* should avoid all unmanlike Ornaments and Niceness in their Habits, and the same in the Motions and Gestures of their Bodies: For all People hate the affected Motions and Carriage of those who would be taken for Masters of a genteel Air; and your Actors on the Stage have a great many foolish impertinent Gestures, which are very displeasing and offensive to the Spectators: And in each of these kinds, what is simple and unaffected, is always best liked of and approved by the World. In order to have a true graceful Comeliness, you must endeavour to keep a good Colour in your Face; and the way to do that, is to use frequent Exercise. Nor do we forbid Men the Use of all Ornaments and Graces to recommend them, but only of those that are too exquisite and affected: So far they are allowable, as they are necessary to keep a Man
from

from being thought a Clown, and from shewing a Disrespect for the Persons he has to do with. And the same Rule may serve very well for our Cloaths; in which to be moderate, as in most other Cases, is certainly the best way. We should also avoid an effeminate Softness and Slowness in our Gait, like those that are marching along in Procession; and no less an over-great Hastiness and Speed, which only begets a deep Panting and Breathing, distorts the Face, and perfectly changes the whole Air of the Countenance, which discovers a Lightness and Inconstancy of Humour. Now if the Motions of the Body deserve all this Pains and Concern about them, how much Care should we take to keep those of the Mind within the Limits prescribed them by Nature and right Reason? Which never can be done any other way, than by keeping the Soul in such an even Temper, as not to be concerned or dejected at any thing; and by a constant Care and Application of Thought, so as to mind nothing but what is honest and becoming. Now the Motions of the Soul are of two sorts, some of them proceeding from the reasonable or thinking, others from the sensitive and passionate Part: The former is busied in nothing but searching and finding out of Truth; by the latter we are pushed and driven forward to Action. It is our Duty therefore to employ our Thoughts about laudable Objects; and so to reduce and over-rule the Passions, as that they may ebb and flow in obedience to Reason.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Decorum shews itself in speaking. Two sorts of Speech. There might Rules be given about our ordinary Discourse. Two things required in the Voice and Pronunciation. How each of them may be gotten. Several Examples of good Speakers. Rules about the Manner, Subjects, and Measure of our common Talk.

ANOTHER great Instance in which this Becomingness shews itself, is our Speech and Discourse. But whereas of this there are two sorts, the *one* proper only for Argument and Contention, the *other* for common and ordinary Talk; we should make use of *that* when we plead at the Bar, or speak in the Senate and publick Assemblies; of *this* when we meet and discourse with our Friends, when we walk in any of the publick Places, or are sitting at Table, and over a Glass of Wine. There are Teachers of Rhetorick who give Rules about the *former*; but there are no Rules given about the *latter*: Not but that I think there might some be invented; but the Business is, there is no Body to be found that would study them if they were; otherwise Masters would never be wanting, if there were but Learners that would study and employ them. Hence we are almost over-run with Rhetoricians, tho' no small Part of the Rules which they give, *viz.* those that concern either the Words or the Sense, may be very well applied to our ordinary Discourse. The Voice is that, whereby we can talk, and convey our inward Thoughts from one to another; in which there are two things chiefly required; first, that it be *clear*; and, secondly, *harmonious*. Each of these must be the Gift of Nature, and is not attainable any other way; but where they are naturally, Practice and Exercise will encrease the one, and Imitation of those who speak sweetly and agreeably, better the other. This was the principal thing in the CATULLI, which made them be counted Men of Judgment and Learning; tho' they had some Skill in the Matter it is

is true, and so had some others as well as they; but this one thing recommended them so much, that they were esteemed the most perfect Masters of the *Roman* Language. The Sound of their Voices was pleasing and harmonious; they neither slurred over things negligently in their Pronunciation, nor yet were too exact in expressing every Letter; the former of which would have made their Speech obscure, and the latter affected. They never spoke so as to strain their Voices, but equally avoided the double Extream, that of Faintness and Sickness (as it were) on the one hand, and of too much Loudness and Elevation on the other. CRASSUS's Discourse was full out as witty, and not near so barren, as that of the CATULI; yet these had as great a Reputation as he, upon the Score of good speaking. CÆSAR, who was Brother to the elder CATULUS, was far more facetious and witty than any of them; so that in Court, when before the Judges, he would do more by his easy familiar way of talking, than others could do by all the Powers of their Eloquence. Each of these things should be diligently taken Care of, if we desire to act decently on all Occasions. Our common Discourse then I would have to be such as that wherein the Followers of SOCRATES excel; easy and good-natur'd, without any Stubbornness or Stiffness in Opinion: Let it be seasoned with Mirth and Pleasantness, and not be too tedious, pert, and assuming, as though it had a Right to the Attention of the Hearers, and no Body else had any thing to do with it; but think it reasonable, as in all other Cases, so in this of Discourse, to let every Man fairly take his own Turn. But especially in the first Place it ought to be considered, what is the Nature of the Subject we are discoursing upon; if it be *serious*, we should handle it with Seriousness; but if it be *merry*, with Gaiety and Briskness. But the most important thing to be taken care of, is, that our Talk do not discover any Viciousness in our Manners, which is apt to appear by nothing so much as by falling too foul upon those that are absent, either by turning them into Ridicule, or misrepresenting them by malicious reproachful Language. Now the Subject

of

of Discourse in common Conversation is usually one of these three things; either our own private domestick Concerns, or those that relate to the Common-wealth in general, or, lastly, some Matter of Study and Learning: Therefore when our Talk begins to ramble from these, we should always be careful to fetch it back to them again. But whatever Subjects present themselves, (for we are not all pleased with the same things, nor with any thing equally at all times;) but whatever Subject, I say, we are upon, we should consider how far our Discourse may be entertaining; and as we could find a Time when to begin, so we should learn when to make an end.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Discourse should be free both from Passion and Heaviness; and shew a Respect for those we converse with. Chiding and Correction sometimes necessary: Rules to be observed in it. In Quarrels with Adversaries we should avoid flying out into Passion. To talk great of one's self, very unbecoming.

IT is a general Rule for the Conduct of our Lives, that we make it our Business to be free from Passion; that is, from all violent Motions of the Soul, which reject and cast off their Allegiance to Reason. This should be applied to the Matter now before us; and all our Discourse should be calm and unpassionate, without any Transports of Anger or Desire; as also, on the other hand, without Deadness and Heaviness, or any such Vice: And in every Company we should carefully endeavour to shew a sort of Kindness and Respect for those Persons with whom we converse. It sometimes comes to pass that *Chiding* is necessary; in which we may be allowed a little to raise our Voices, and to use more Sharpness and Authority in our Expressions: However, we must be careful that we do not discover any Passion; but let it rather be seen that we come to
such

such Corrections as Physicians do to cutting and scarifying Wounds, but seldom, and with a great deal of Regret and Unwillingness. And indeed we should never come to them at all, unless it be necessary, and when no other Methods will do any good: And even then, when we are forced to it, we must be sure (as was said) to avoid all Anger; for whatsoever is guided by its Influence and Directions, can never be done with any Prudence or Moderation. Our Rebukes should be generally mild and gentle; but nevertheless such, as may carry some Weight and Authority along with them; observing a Mean betwixt too great easiness, and breaking out into angry and contumelious Language. And whatsoever Sharpness we may express in our Reproofs, we should let the Person so corrected know that we do it altogether for his Good, and not for any By-ends or Self-Designs. In the Quarrels we have even with our greatest Adversaries, whatever dirty Language may be thrown upon us, it is the best Way to keep our Minds calm and sedate, and never let Anger break in upon them: For whatever is spoken or done in a Passion, can neither be consistent with the Rules of Gravity, nor be approved of by those who are present in the Company. Lastly, it is a very unbecoming thing for a Man to talk great of himself in Discourse, and especially when that which he says is false; which is but to imitate *Braggadocchio* in the Comedy, and make himself the Laughing-stock and Jest of the Hearers.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIX.

What sort of House is fitting for a Person of Honour. What should be the End of Building. The Examples of Octavius and Scaurus. A great House brings a Reproach on its Master, if his Worth be not answerable to it, and if he do not keep up the Laws of Hospitality. Measures to be observed in Building. Three Rules to be observed for the keeping a Decorum in our Actions.

AND since we take in (or desire at least to take in) all the several Branches of Duty, we must not forget to add a Word or two about what sort of House is becoming a Gentleman or a Person of Honour. Now the main End of Building is Lodging, and other necessary Uses of an House; and therefore the Draught or Contrivance of it should be suited accordingly. But we should not so much regard bare Necessities, as not to have an Eye to Convenience and Magnificence. CNEIUS OCTAVIUS, the first of that Family that was ever Consul, built himself a noble and magnificent House upon the *Palatin Hill*, which is said to have gained him a great deal of Reputation; insomuch that the People coming usually to see it, the very House was supposed to have gone a great way toward advancing its Owner (tho' a kind of an Upstart) to the Dignity of Consul. This some time after was pulled down by SCAURUS, that so he might make his own somewhat the bigger by it: But whereas OCTAVIUS, by building *his* House, had made himself Consul, this Man, on the contrary, by enlarging of *his*, (tho' the Son of a great and most eminent Citizen) not only caused himself to be put by that Office, but was moreover brought into Shame and Dishonour, and at last utterly ruined. It is well if a Man can enhance that Credit and Reputation he has got by the Splendor of his House; but he must not depend upon his House alone for it; for the Master ought to bring Honour to his fine Seat, and not the fine Seat bring Honour to its Master. But, as in all other Cases, a Man should

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not have Respect to himself alone, but to other People also; so it is in this of a Nobleman's House, which ought to be made very large and capacious, because he must keep up the Laws of Hospitality, and entertain Multitudes of all sorts of Persons in it. For a fine and large House that gives Entertainment to no Body, serves but to reproach and upbraid its Owner; and especially if it were used to be frequently visited under its former Master: For it is an odious thing to have Passengers cry, as they go along,

*Ah! good old House, alas thy present Lord
Is not like thy former one!*

which may justly be said of but too, too many in our own Days. Care should be taken, especially when a Man builds himself, that he be not too extravagant in his Magnificence and Expences; which is a very ill thing, tho' it had no other Harm in it but only *that one* of giving a bad Example: For most Men are apt, more than in any thing else, to imitate the great Ones as to this Particular. Where, for example, shall we find the Man that rivals the famous LUCULLUS in his Virtues? whereas how many have done it in the State-liness and Magnificence of his Country-houses? But there certainly ought to be *some Bounds* fixed and prescribed to these things, and those to be according to the Rules of Moderation; but the Measure whereby we are to judge of their being moderate, is their Subserviency to the Ornaments and Conveniencies of Life: And so much may suffice upon this Head. As for our *Actions*, the way to maintain this Decorum in *them*, is constantly to observe these three following Precepts: First, *That we keep all our Passions and Appetites under the Government and Direction of Reason*, than which there is nothing of greater Efficacy toward the constant Preservation of our Duty. Secondly, *That we consider the Quality and Moment of the thing which we go about*; that so we may proportion our Endeavours accordingly, and take neither more nor less Pains about it than it really deserves. And lastly,

lastly, *That in all those exterior Circumstances, which are only designed for a genteel Show and Grace of the Action, we should keep within the Measures of Prudence and Moderation. Now the best Measure we can observe is this, To keep our Eyes fixed on those Rules of Decorum I have before laid down, and never to transgress them. But of these three Rules the first is the most important, That the sensitive Part be kept obedient to the reasonable.*

C H A P. XL.

Order to be observed in our Words and Actions. Wherein it consists. The Duties arising from it. An excellent Saying of Pericles to that Purpose. Of how great Moment the due timing a thing is. We should be particularly careful to avoid little Indecencies. Harmony and Agreement more necessary in our Lives, than our Musick.

IT remains in the next place that we should speak of that Order which is to be observed in our Words and Actions, and of the proper Seasons and Opportunities of them. And here will fall under our Consideration, that which by the Greeks is call'd *εὐταξία*; by which I do not mean that *εὐταξία*, which by us is most commonly rendered *Moderation*, and signifies the *keeping within due Bounds*: But that which contains in the Notion of it, *The Preservation of Order*. We shall crave Leave, however, to call even this latter by the Name of *Moderation*, which is thus defin'd by the Stoick Philosophers, *Moderation is the Knowledge of putting whatever we say, or do, in its proper Place*. From whence it appears, That Order and the well-placing of Things are but different Words to express the same Notion: For Order is defined by the same Sect of Men to be the *ranging of things in their fitting and proper Places*. Now the Place of an Action they tell us is, *The Season of Time for doing it*; and by the *Season of Time* they mean nothing else, than that which the Greeks call *καιρία*, and

and which we express by the Word *Occasio*: So that, in short, by *Moderation* here (in the Sense of the Word which I have just now given) we mean no more than *the Knowledge of Well-timing whatever we do*. Prudence may be defined the same way too, about which we have spoken at the Entrance of this Work: But now we are discoursing of Temperance, Moderation, and such-like Virtues. What the Duties of Prudence are, is sufficiently explained in its proper Place; what those of Modesty, and such other Virtues as serve to recommend us to those we converse with, and make up the Subject of our present Enquiry, remains now to be considered. *In the first place then*, We ought to observe a due Regularity and Order in our Actions, as that the several Parts of our whole Lives, like those of a regular and coherent Discourse, may agree and be suitable one with another. For what is more unseemly, and contrary to good Manners, than when we are engaged about serious Business, to bring in some pleasant and merry Discourse, that is proper for a Feast, or over a Glass of Wine? It was a very good Answer to the present Purpose, which PERICLES once gave to SOPHOCLES the Tragedian: They were both of them Prætors of *Athens* together, and meeting one Day about some Business of their Office, it happened a beautiful Boy passed by; whom SOPHOCLES espying, *Heavens!* said he, PERICLES, *What a delicate Youth is there!* To which he replied, *A Magistrate*, SOPHOCLES, *should keep a strict Guard, not over his Hands only, but his Eyes too*. Now had SOPHOCLES happened to have said the same Words at a Time when they were chusing of Wrestlers or Racers, such a Rebuke had been wholly undeserved: So much may the Merit or Demerit of an Action depend upon the Circumstances of Time and Place. Suppose, for Example, a Man had some considerable Cause upon his Hands, or Business that required attentive Thinking: Could any one blame him for being very thoughtful as he walked or rid? But should he shew himself so at a Feast among Company, it would be counted a great Piece of Rudeness and ill Breeding, and this for not observing the Difference of Seasons.

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Now as for those things, which notoriously offend against the Rules of good Manners, such as for a Man to sing openly in the Streets, or any other gross and apparent Absurdity, these are so easy to be observed by all, that we need give no Rules or Directions about them: but we ought more especially to employ our Care, in avoiding those little unheeded Indecencies, which are hardly understood by the Generality of Mankind. And as the least Fault or Disagreement in the Notes, is immediately perceived by a skilful Musician; so we should take all imaginable Care, that there be no Disagreement in our Lives and Actions: And that so much the more, as the Harmony in our Lives is of much greater Consequence, than that in our Musick.

C H A P. XLI.

Decency to be kept even in the least things, as the moving of the Eyes, &c. We should observe what is unhand-some in others, and correct it in ourselves. We should ask the Advice of experienced Persons. Cautions in taking this Advice. We should follow Custom and Civil Constitutions. Some things allowable in some great Men, which are not so in others. Nothing immodest is becoming. Some particular Duties to be observed by all good Men.

AS therefore the delicate Ear of the Artist can quickly discover the least Fault in his Musick; so, would we take as much Care in detecting and censuring our Vices, we might from the least and most trivial Matters, make several Observations that would be much to our Advantage. From the moving of our Eyes, for Example; from our way of smoothing or wrinkling our Brows; from the merry or sorrowful Air of our Countenances; from our Laughter, Freedom or Reservedness in Discourse; from the raising or falling the Tone of our Voices, and a great many other

other such little kind of Circumstances, we might easily judge what is handsome and becoming us, and what is repugnant to the Rules of our Duty, and to that which our Nature or Character requires. Now in this Particular it is a very good way, To observe first in others how each of these suits, that so we may avoid and correct in *ourselves* whatever we see bad and misbecoming in *them*. For, I know not how, we can sooner spy Faults out in other People, than we can in ourselves; upon which Account there is no better way to correct any Learner, than for the Master to to mimick his Faults before him; that so he, perceiving their Deformity in another, may the sooner be brought to amend them in himself. Another good way is, whenever we are in Doubt and Suspence about a Duty, to go to some learned or experienced Person, and ask his Advice upon the Matter in Question, before we resolve and determine with our selves: Because, generally speaking, when left to themselves, Men are apt to be guided too much by their own Inclinations and Natures. And in asking this Advice we should diligently observe, not only what every one tells us in Words, but what his real inward Opinion is, and what Reasons and Grounds he may have for such Opinions. For as your Statuaries, Painters, and Poets, use to set their Works out to be publicly view'd; that so they may be able to correct such Faults as are generally found by Spectators in them: And as they consider with themselves and their Friends, what Oversights or Mistakes they have been guilty of in them; so should we make use of other People's Judgments as well as our own, and do or not do, correct or alter a great many things upon their Advice. As for those things that are settled by Custom and Civil Constitutions, I shall give no Directions at all concerning them; for they are sufficient Directions of themselves: I shall only observe that it is a great Mistake in any one to think, because such Men as ARISTIPPUS and SOCRATES have ventured to say, or do a great many things, which are contrary to Rule and received Custom, that therefore he may be allowed to do the same: For these were

were Persons of extraordinary Merits, and almost more than human Perfections, and on that Account might demand some Privileges, which are not to be granted to the rest of the World. But as for the Practice and Manner of the *Cynicks*, it is wholly to be discarded; for it is a plain Offence against the Rules of Modesty; without which nothing can be virtuous and becoming. It is our Duty to pay a Respect and Deterence, as to all those that are virtuous and courageous, who design for the Good and Advantage of the Republick, and serve or have served her in any of her Interests; so to those also who bear any Office or Command in the State. We should pay in like Manner a peculiar Regard and Reverence to old Age; never resist any publick Magistrate; make a Distinction between Citizens and Strangers; and of Strangers themselves, between those in a private and publick Capacity. In fine, not to mention any more particulars, we ought in all Cases both to keep *our selves*, and endeavour to uphold and maintain among *others*, that common Correspondence and universal Society that is among all Mankind.

C H A P. XLII.

Of the several sorts of Trade, which are creditable, and which not. All those that administer to Vice, and Debauchery scandalous. Lying in Tradesmen abominable. How far Merchandise is creditable. Husbandry particularly commended.

AS for Trades, and the ways of getting Money, which of them are creditable and which otherwise, I have only these very few things to observe: *First*, All those are unworthy Ways of gaining, which procure one a general Hatred and Ill-will; as that of the *Usurers* and *Tax-gatherers*, for Instance. *Secondly*, Those Arts are mean and ungenteel, in which a Man is paid for his *Work*, not his *Skill*; for the very receiving a Reward for one's Labour, is like taking of Earnest to bind himself

a Slave. Nor are they to be esteemed as better than mean and ordinary People, that buy things up by the Lump of Merchants, to sell them out again by little and little; for what they gain is but a very poor Business, unless they are guilty of abominable lying, than which there is nothing in the World more scandalous. Again, all Handicrafts-men have but a mean sort of Calling; and it is impossible that a Work-house should have any thing that is genteel in it. *Further yet*, all those Trades are pitiful and low, that purvey and cater for the satisfying Mens Pleasures; Fishmongers, Butchers, Cooks, &c. as *TERENCE* reckons them up; to which we may add, if you please, Perfumers, Dancing-masters, and those who supply us with Dice or Cards. But Arts that have something of Knowledge and Skill in them, or those that are useful and necessary for the Publick; such as Physick, for Instance, Architecture, or the Instruction and Education of Youth in Good-manners, these are very creditable and commendable in those whose Rank and Condition is suited for such Employments. As for Merchandise, it is sordid and mean, when the Trade that is driven is little and inconsiderable; but when it takes in a great Quantity of Business, and bringing home Goods from every Country, sells them out again without lying or deceiving, we can hardly say but that it is creditable enough: Nay, it is most certainly very commendable, when those who are concerned in it only design (after they are *sated*, or rather *contented*, with what they gained) to betake themselves wholly from the *Haven* to the *Country*, as before they had done from the *Sea* to the *Haven*, and there enjoy quietly their private Possessions. But among all the Methods of enriching one's self, there is no one better, no one more profitable, pleasant, and agreeable, no one more worthy of a Man and a Gentleman, than *that* of manuring and tilling the Ground; concerning which I have spoken at large in my *Cato Maior*, from whence you may borrow what is necessary to be said upon this Subject.

C H A P.

C H A P. XLIII.

*The comparing of two Parts of Honesty one with another.
The Duties of Prudence or finding out Truth, and those
of Justice or maintaining human Society compared; and
the Preference given to the latter.*

AND thus have I finished what I had to say upon the first Question, and, I think, sufficiently made it appear, how the particular Instances of Duty are to be drawn from the several Heads of Honesty. But it often comes to pass, that those very things themselves which are honest, *rival* as it were, and come into Competition with one another, so as to make it be another Question, *Of two that are honest, which is the most so?* which is a Point not mentioned at all by PANÆTIUS. For the Whole of Virtue receiving its Rise from those four Fountains: First, *Prudence*, or the Knowledge of Truth. Secondly, *Justice*, or doing Good to the Community and Society of Mankind. Thirdly, *Fortitude*, or Greatness of Soul. And, Lastly, *Temperance* or *Moderation*; it cannot but happen, that several of these must be compared together, before we can be able to satisfy our selves, which it is our Duty to prefer before which. *First then*, if the Duties of *Justice*, or preserving the Community, and those of *Prudence*, or the Knowledge of Truth, should come into Competition one with another; the former, I think, should take place of the latter, as being more consonant to the Dictates of Nature, which may easily be proved by this following Argument: Suppose a wise Man to be in such a Place, as afforded him all the Conveniences of Life, and all the Opportunities of Leisure in abundance, so that he might study and contemplate every thing that was any ways worthy his Knowledge or Contemplation; yet were he wholly deprived of all Company, and had no body ever come near him to be seen, he would quickly be tired, and grow weary of his Life. • Again, The Principal of all the Virtues is that sort of Wisdom

which the Greeks call σοφία; (for as to that sort of it which they call φρόνησις, and we *Prudentia*, it is a thing of a perfectly different Nature, as being no more than *The Skill of discerning what it is that we ought, or ought not to do* :) But that Sort of Wisdom, which I said was the principal, is, *The Knowledge of Things both Divine and Human*; and so comprehends the *Society and Relation* of Men with the Gods, and with one another. If then this, as most certainly it is, be the greatest Virtue; it follows, that the Duties which flow from Society must as certainly be the greatest: For the deepest Knowledge and Contemplation of Nature, is but a very lame and imperfect Business, unless it proceed and tend forward to Action: Now the occasions wherein it can shew it self best, consist in maintaining the Interests of Men, and of Consequence belong to the Society of Mankind: From whence it follows, That the maintaining of *this*, should in reason take place before Learning and Knowledge. Nor is this any more than what all good Men shew they judge to be true by their Actions and Practices: For who is there so wholly addicted to Contemplation and the Study of Nature, as that, if his Country should fall into Danger, while he was in one of his noblest Researches, he would not immediately throw all aside, and run to its Relief with all possible Speed; nay, though he thought he might number the Stars, or take the just Dimensions of the whole World? And the same would he do in the Case of any Danger to a Friend or a Parent. From all which things it undeniably appears, That the Duties of *Knowledge* and searching after Truth, are obliged to give way to the Duties of *Justice*, which consist in upholding *Society* among Men; than which there is nothing we should be more concerned for.

C H A P. XLIV.

Even those, whose Business is the Search after Truth, are serviceable to the Society of Mankind, and how. Speaking well preferable to the highest Speculations, and why. Man by Nature a sociable Creature. Knowledge of little Use, unless it tend to Action, and do some Good to the World. Necessity not the Reason of Mens joining in Societies.

NAY those very Men, who have spent their whole Lives in Philosophy and Learning, have yet always endeavoured, as much as they could, to be serviceable to the Interest and Good of Mankind. For many brave Men, and very useful Members of their several States, have in great part been made such by their Institutions. Thus EPAMINONDAS, the famous Theban, was indebted for his Education to LYSIS, the Pythagorean : DION of Syracuse, for his to PLATO ; and the same may be said of a great many others ; even I myself, whatsoever Service I have done the Republick (if at least it may be said that I have done it any Service) must wholly ascribe it to that Learning and those Instructions I received from my Masters. Neither is their teaching, and instructing others, determined to the time of their living here ; but they continue to do it even after they are dead, by the learned Discourses which they leave behind them : For there is no one Point they have left unhandled, relating either to the Laws, Customs, or Discipline of the Commonwealth : So that they seem to have sacrificed their Leisure and Opportunities of Study, to the Benefit of those who are engag'd in Business : And thus we see how those Men themselves, whose Lives have been spent in the Pursuit of Wisdom, have nevertheless endeavoured by their Learning and Prudence, to be some way profitable to the Community of Mankind. And for this one Reason, persuasive Speaking, if joined with Prudence, is a greater Accomplishment than the acutest Thinking, if destitute of Eloquence : For *Thinking* is terminated in

itself alone, but Speaking reaches out to the Benefit of those with whom we are join'd in the same Society. Now as Bees do not *therefore* unite themselves together, that so they may the better prepare their Combs; but *therefore* prepare their Combs, because they do by Nature unite themselves together: So Men, and much more, being Creatures that naturally love Society, in Consequence of that, seek how they may find Methods of living happily in it. From hence it follows, that the Knowledge of things, unless it is accompanied with that sort of Virtue, which consists in defending and preserving of Men, *i. e.* in the Maintenance of human Society, is but a barren and fruitless Accomplishment; and even *Greatness of Soul*, without a Regard to this Society and Conjunction, is very little better than Savageness and Barbarity. Thus we may see, that the getting of Knowledge is a Duty of much less Concern and Moment, than the preserving this Society and Union amongst Men. It is a very false Notion that hath been advanced by some People, *That* Necessity alone was the Motive to the Society, which we have so often mentioned; and *that* Men would never have associated together, but that they were not able, in a solitary Life, to furnish themselves with the Necessaries of Nature; and *that* every great and exalted Genius, would Providence supply him with Food and the other Conveniences of Life, would withdraw from all Business and Intercourse with Mankind, and give himself wholly to Study and Contemplation. This is not so; for he would avoid Solitude, endeavour to find a Companion in his Studies, and always be desirous of Teaching and Learning, of Hearing and Speaking. From all which things it is abundantly evident, that the Duties belonging to human Society, should in reason take place before those which relate to *inactive* Knowledge.

CHAP. XLV.

The Duties of maintaining Society not always preferable to those of Temperance, Modesty, &c. What Duties of Justice ought to take place of others.

IT ought perhaps to be enquired here, Whether the Duties of this Society, which is thus agreeable to the Principles of Nature, ought always to be preferred before the Duties of Temperance, Decency and Moderation? Indeed I think not: For some things there are so very highly scandalous and abominably wicked, that a wise Man would hardly be guilty of them, supposing he could bring Safety to his Country by it. POSIDONIUS has heaped up a great many Instances of things of this Nature; some of which are so exceeding filthy, and intolerably obscene, that it is a Shame even so much as to repeat them after him. These then must never be done for one's Country; nor will one's Country ever desire that they should; for the best of it is, it is impossible such a Conjunction should happen, as can make it be the Interest of any Republick, to have wise Men be guilty of such abominable Actions. We may lay down this then for a certain Conclusion, That when several Duties come into Competition, those should take place before any others, which relate to the Maintenance of Human Society. For wise and considerate *Acting*, is the End of all Knowledge and prudent Thinking; and by Consequence, *that* is more valuable than *this*. And so much may suffice upon this Subject; for, I think I have sufficiently clear'd the Way; so that hereafter there will be no Difficulty to know which Duties are to be preferred before which. But those very Duties which relate to Society, are of different Rates and Degrees among themselves; but it is no hard Matter to see in what Order they ought to be performed. As in the *First* place, those to the Immortal Gods. *Secondly*, To our Native Country. *Thirdly*, To our Parents; and so

on to all others in their respective Places. What has been said in a few Words on this last Head, I hope, is sufficient to make it appear, that it is usual for Men not only to doubt, *Whether such and such an Action be honest or dishonest*; but also, *Of two, that are both of them honest, which is the most so*. This is one of those two Heads, which I at first observed were omitted by PANÆTIUS: Let us now pass on to the remaining Part of our proposed Division.

The End of the First Book.

TULLY



TULLY'S OFFICES.

The SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

What will be the Subject of this Second Book. He applies himself to the Study of Philosophy, as his greatest Consolation in the midst of the publick Calamities of his Country.



WHAT those Duties are, Son MARK, which *Honesty* and *Virtue* require of us, and how they arise from their several Fountains, is, I think, plain enough from the former Book. I am now in the next Place to speak of those others which wholly regard the Convenience of Life, and are requisite for the Getting and Enjoyment of those things which serve for our comfortable

Subsistence here, such as Interest, Riches, &c. And here I told you the common Heads of Deliberation were, *What is profitable and what unprofitable? and, Of several Profitables, which is more, and which most of all such?* Concerning which I shall begin to speak, after I have premised but a Word or two in Vindication of my Self and my present Undertaking. For tho' my Books have excited several both to the reading, and even writing of Philosophy; yet I am now and then apt to be afraid, lest some, who are otherwise very good Men, should hate and despise the very Name of that Study, and wonder at me for bestowing such Portions of my Time and Pains in so very fruitless and insignificant a Manner. To whom I answer, That so long as the Republick was governed by those, to whose Care and Management she had intrusted her self, I was ever diligent, and employed all my Thoughts for her Good and Preservation: But *when* one Man had seiz'd of her wholly to himself, and there was no Place left for my Counsel or Authority; and *when* I had lost those extraordinary Persons, who had been my Companions in labouring for her Interest; I resolv'd not to sink into Anguish and Despair, which had wholly overwhelmed me if I had not resisted them; nor to follow such Pleasures or idle Ways of Living, as were improper, and unbecoming a Man of Learning. I could heartily wish, had it so pleased the Gods, that the Republick had continued in its ancient Condition, and never fallen into the Hands of those Men, who are, not so much for changing as overturning every thing! I should then, as I did in its flourishing Circumstances! spend my Time rather in Business than Writing; and what I did write would not be things of this moral Nature, but my publick Orations, as I have often done. But when the poor State, which had taken up all my Care and Thoughts, and for which I had laboured with all my Power, was utterly ruined and sunk into nothing, there was quickly no Room left for such Orations, either at the Bar or in the Senate-house: And my active Mind, which had always been employed in that kind of Studies, now not being able to lie wholly idle, I thought I could find out no better way to get rid of those Trou-
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bles which oppressed my Mind, than by returning again to the Studies of Philosophy. I had spent a good Part of my Time in these whilst I was young, for the Improvement of my Reason; but when I came once to be a Candidate for Places, and devoted myself to the Service of the Publick, I had little Time left for philosophical Enquiries, only so much as could be spared from the Business of my Friends and the State; which was wholly taken up in nothing else but reading, without any Leisure at all for writing.

C H A P. II.

Some Advantage to be drawn out of Evils. The Commendation and Definitions of Wisdom and Philosophy. It is the only Way of obtaining Virtue and Happiness. The Opinion of the Academicks, and why they dispute against every thing.

HOWEVER then we have this Advantage in the Midst of all our Miseries and Calamities, that by them we are brought to the writing of those things which were not sufficiently known amongst us, tho' nothing in the World more deserves our Knowledge. For what is there, O ye Gods! more desirable than Wisdom? what more excellent and lovely in itself? What more useful and becoming for a Man? or what more worthy of his reasonable Nature? Now those who are busied in the Pursuit of this, are called Philosophers, and the Word *Philosophy* signifies no more, if you would take it literally, than a *certain Desire and Love for Wisdom*: And Wisdom is defined by the old Philosophers, *the Knowledge of things both Divine and Human, together with the Causes upon which they depend*; the Study of which whosoever find fault with, I confess I cannot perceive what it is he would commend; for what Study is there that brings so much Quiet and Satisfaction to the Mind, (if these are the things which we propose to ourselves) as theirs who are always a
searching

searching out something which may contribute to the Welfare and Happiness of their Lives? Or if it be Virtue and Constancy that we desire, either *this* is the Method of obtaining them, or else there is not any to be found in the World. To say there is *no* Art of those weightier Concerns, when none of the most trivial Matters is without Art, becomes only those who talk without thinking, and deceive themselves in their most important Business: But if there *is* an Art of attaining Virtue, in what other way do we hope to find it, if this be forsaken of which I am now speaking? But these things ~~use~~ to be more fully handled, when we excite and persuade Men to cultivate Philosophy; which I have endeavoured to do in another Work. My Design at present was only to shew, why I particularly chose this Study; being thrust from all Business and Concern in the Government. There are others, and those Men of no small Learning, who object against me, and ask *if I am not inconsistent with my self, who affirm, that nothing at all can be known, and yet have discoursed upon several Subjects, and at this very time am laying down Rules and Directions about Duty?* I could wish those Persons had understood our Opinions a little more thoroughly; for we are not of *those*, whose Minds are perpetually wandering in Uncertainties, and have nothing whereby to determine their Assents; (for what sort of Mind must a Man needs have, or rather what Life must he needs lead, when he is utterly debarred from all Liberty of disputing, and observing any regular Conduct in his Actions?) nor yet of *those* others, who call some things *certain* and others *uncertain*: But rejecting both these, *we* say some things are *probable* and others *improbable*. Is there any thing then that should hinder me from approving of that which I think most probable, and laying aside that which I think the contrary? Or where is the Inconsistency, if leaving that arrogant Pretence of *Demonstrating*, I am neither too rash nor presumptuous in my Opinions, which of all things in the World are the farthest from Wisdom? Now this is the Reason why we *Academicks* dispute against every thing, because what is probable could not appear

appear without comparing the Arguments upon either Side of the Question. But these things are cleared, I think accurately enough in my Books entitled *Academical Questions*. But you, my Son, are already engaged in the Study of a most noble and ancient Philosophy; and have gotten CRATIPPUS for your Master and Instructor, who is hardly inferior to its most glorious Founders: However, I would have you acquainted with our Doctrines, which are very little different from those of your own Sect. But it is high time now to return to our Purpose.

C H A P. III.

The Knowledge of Honesty is of greatest Moment. Profit and Honesty really the same, and distinguished only by an Act of the Mind. The customary Opinion to the contrary, very pernicious. The Division of things that are profitable and hurtful to Men. The Good we receive from inanimate Beings, owing to Man's Industry.

THERE being then, as was before observed, five general Heads of deliberating and consulting for the finding out our Duty; two of which relate to what is honest and becoming; two to the Uses and Conveniencies of Life, such as Plenty, Power, Riches, &c. and the fifth to the teaching us how we ought to choose, if any of the former should seem to contradict and run counter to one another: We have gone through with that wherein *Honesty* is the Question, with which I desire you would be more especially acquainted: The Point which now comes under Consideration, is what usually goes by the Name of *Profitable*; concerning which, Custom is mightily in the wrong, and by little and little has brought it to such a Pass, as to make a Distinction between Profit and Honesty; and settle it as a constant and received Maxim, *That a thing may be honest without being profitable, and again may be profitable without being honest;*
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the most pernicious Error, and most destructive of all Goodness, that ever could have crept into the Minds of Men. The greatest however, and most eminent Philosophers, have been always so strict and severe in their Writings, as to make the three Natures of *Justice*, *Profit*, and *Honesty* be blended and interwoven together in Reality; and distinguishable only by an Act of the Mind: For whatever is *just*, say they, the same is also *profitable*; and whatever is *honest*, the same is also *just*; from whence it follows, that whatever is *honest*, the same must be also *profitable*. Did People but consider this Matter as they ought, they would not, as now they commonly do, admire a crafty and subtle sort of Fellows, and esteem that Wisdom which in Truth is Roguery. This Error therefore should wholly be rooted out of the Minds of Men, and all should be taught, That if ever they hope to obtain their Ends, they should not set about it by the ways of Knavery and underhand Dealings, but by Justice and Integrity in their Designs and Actions. Now all things that tend to the Good and Preservation of the Life of Man, are either *Inanimate*, such as Gold, Silver, the Productions of the Earth, and other such like; or *Animals*, which have natural Powers, Inclinations, and Appetites. Of these some are *unreasonable* and others *reasonable*: The *unreasonable* are Horses, Oxen, and other sorts of Cattle; to which we may add Bees, which produce and make something that contributes to the Convenience of the Life of Men: The *reasonable* are Gods and Men. The Means for procuring the Favour of the Gods, is to live a religious and holy Life: Next to the Gods, there is nothing so capable of contributing to the Happiness and Welfare of Men, as Men themselves. The same Distribution may serve for those things which tend to the Hurt and Inconvenience of Men. But because it is believed, that to hurt is incompatible with the Divine Nature, the Gods for that Reason are excepted here; so that Men are supposed of all things in Nature, to do both the most Service and Disservice to one another. For, *first*, those things which are called In-

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animate, are most of them owing to the Industry of Men; which we neither could get if it were not for their Labour and Art in procuring them, nor afterwards use without their Assistance. For where should we have such a Science as Physick, as Navigation, or Agriculture? How should we gather and preserve our Corn, and the rest of our Fruits, if it were not for Men? And then how should those Commodities which we want be imported, or those with which we abound be exported, if there were not Men to do each of these Works? In like manner, how could Stone be fetched out of the Quarries for our necessary Uses? How could Iron, Brass, Gold, and Silver be dug and drawn out from the Bowels of the Earth, did not Men set their Hands to work for these Purposes?

CHAP. IV.

Other Conveniencies from inanimate Beings and unreasonable Animals received by Mens Industry. The Advantages arising from Mens joyning in Society.

SO Houses, which serve to defend us from the Extremities of Heat and Cold, could neither at first have been made by Mankind, nor afterwards, if by Earthquake, Tempest, or Length of Days they had fallen to Decay, have been repaired or rebuilt; had not Men joyned together in one common Society, learned to borrow Help and Assistance of one another. To this Industry of Men we are also indebted for Conveyances of Water, for making new Channels and Arms to Rivers, and for turning the Streams after such a Manner, as thereby to water and fatten our Grounds; for throwing up Banks to defend us from the Waves, and making of new Harbours in convenient Places. From all which Instances, and a great many others that might easily be produced, it is abundantly manifest, that the Fruits and Advantages reaped from those things which are called *Inanimate*, are entirely owing to Mens Labour

Labour and Industry. *Secondly*, Those we receive from *unreasonable* Animals, how very little and inconsiderable would they be, if they were not augmented by the same Peoples Industry? For who was it but Men that first discovered the Uses to which Beasts in their several kinds might be serviceable? And how at this Time could we feed or break them? How could we keep them, and get the most Profit and Advantage by them, without the Endeavours and Assistance of the same Men? It is *they* that destroy us those Creatures which are hurtful, and procure for us those which may be serviceable to us. Why need I mention a Multitude of Arts, which are absolutely necessary to our well-being here? For what Help or Succour could those that are sick, or what Pleasure those that are healthy find? How could Mankind be supplied with Victuals, and other Conveniences or Comforts of Life, if it were not for that Number of Callings in the World, which are wholly designed to provide them of such things? By which Men are brought to live better and more handsomely, and are raised to a Condition so far above that of unreasonable Animals. Again, Cities could neither have been built nor frequented, without a Community and Society of Men: From hence have arisen all Laws and Customs; the Bounds of Equity and Justice have been settled, and a certain and regular Method laid down for the Conduct of Mens Lives. This has brought Modesty into Request, and filed off the natural Roughness of Mens Tempers; has contributed to the greater Security of their Lives, and established such a Commerce and Correspondence among them, as by mutual giving and receiving of Benefits, by bartering and changing one Commodity for another, one Convenience for another, supplies them to the full with whatever they stand in need of.

CHAP. V.

Nothing extraordinary either in War or Peace, can be done without the Help of Men. Nothing the Cause of so much Evil to Men, as they themselves are to one another. What is the Office of Virtue. The whole Benefit of it consists in three Things.

WE dwell much longer than we needed to do upon this Subject: For who does not see, which PANÆTIUS has spent many Pages to *make out*, that neither a General in War, nor a Statesman in Peace, could ever perform any glorious Exploits, or do any notable Service to the Publick, without the Concurrence of other Mens Endeavours: To confirm this Assertion, he brings in THEMISTOCLES, PERICLES, AGESILAUS, and ALEXANDER; and tells us that no one of all these, without the Assistance of others to support them, could ever have achieved such glorious Actions, What he tells us is undoubtedly true, and such a Number of Witnesses altogether superfluous. And as Men thus receive most extraordinary Benefits, from agreeing and conspiring to lend mutual Assistance; so we shall find, upon changing the Scene, that there are no Misfortunes or Calamities so great, as those which they bring upon one another. DICÆARCHUS, a learned and eloquent Peripatetick, has written a whole Book concerning the Destruction of Men; where, first having reckoned up all other Causes of it, such as Inundations, Pestilences, and Famines, and even sudden IncurSIONS of furious wild Beasts, (by which he assures us some whole Nations have been devoured;) and then placing on the other side Wars, Seditions, and such like Misfortunes, which Men were the Occasions of; he endeavours to shew, at the Foot of the Account, that a great many more have been destroyed by *these*, than by all other Accidents or Calamities whatsoever. This then being indisputably true, That the Goods Men enjoy, and the Evil they suffer, proceed for the most part from Men themselves; I lay down this as one principal Part of Virtue,

Virtue, to procure the Good-liking and Favour of Men, and so to engage their Endeavours and Affections, as to make them still ready to do us any Kindness. It is the Business therefore of laborious Callings to supply us with all the Conveniencies of Life, which may be had from the Use of inanimate Beings and unreasonable Animals: but to gain the Affections of Men on our Side, and beget in *them* always a Readiness and Desire to advance our Interest, is a Work that requires the Wisdom and Virtue of the greatest Men. For the whole Work and Exercise of Virtue, in general, consists in some one of these three things: The *first* is a Knowledge, in all we undertake, of what is agreeable to Truth and Sincerity; what is becoming and suitable to every one's Character; what will be the Consequence of such or such Actions; what are the Materials out of which things are made, and what the Causes that first brought them into Being. The *second*, A restraining the violent Motions and Passions of the Soul, which by the *Grecians* are termed $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$; and bringing the irregular Inclinations of the Appetite, which by the same are called $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha$, under the Power and Government of Reason. The *third* is a Skillfulness of Address in our Carriage, and a winning Demeanour toward the rest of Men, with whom we are joined in one common Society; that so by their Help we may be supplied in abundance with all those things which our Natures stand in need of; and by the same may be enabled, should any Injury be offered us, to keep our selves secure from the Violences of it; and not only so, but to revenge our selves also upon the guilty Person, and inflict such Punishments as are according to the Rules of Humanity and Justice.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

How far the Power of Fortune over Men reaches. The several Reasons why Men favour any one, or submit to his Authority.

WHAT Means should be used for the gaining and securing Men firm to our Interests, we should mention immediately; but we have one Observation to make before-hand, There is no one but knows that the Power of Fortune is very great, both as to the *good* and *ill* Success of our Actions: For when she favours us, we quickly arrive at our desired Haven; but when she turns against us, we as quickly are shipwreck'd and run a-ground. Now of those Events which depend upon Fortune, there are some that come to pass, but extraordinary seldom; such as Storms, Tempests, Ship-wrecks, Ruins, Fires, &c. which proceed from *inanimate Beings*; and from *brutish Animals*, Kicks, Bites, Pulses, &c. all which, as I said, do but rarely happen: But the *Overthrows of Armies*, as of three but a while ago, and a great many others at several Times; *the Deaths of Commanders*, as lately of a great and extraordinary Person; *the Hatred and Violence of the enraged Multitude*, and, as a Consequence of that, the Banishments, Flights, and utter Undoings of well-deserving Citizens; as also on the other hand *prosperous Successes*, such as Honours, Commands, Victories, &c. tho' they are all of them truly fortuitous Things, yet they cannot succeed either the one way or the other, without the Assistance and Endeavours of Men. This being noted, we are now to discourse of those Ways and Methods, whereby Men are drawn and inclined to be for us, and to endeavour all they can for our Interest and Advantage: Upon which, if we seem to dwell longer than we should do, I desire the Usefulness of the Subject may be considered, and then we may possibly be thought too short. Whatsoever then is contributed by Men toward any one's Advancement in Riches, Honours, Powers, &c. is always done upon
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some of these Motives : *First*, That of Kindness, Benevolence, or Good-Will; when for some Reasons they *love* any Person. *Secondly*, Honour or Admiration; when they respect any one for his Virtues, and think he deserves to be highly promoted. *Thirdly*, Confidence, Trust, or Reliance; when they think they may safely confide in a Man, as one that will certainly take care of their Affairs. *Fourthly*, Fear, when they stand in any *Awe* of his Power and Authority. *Fifthly*, Hope, when they expect to get something from him; as when Princes or popular Men promise great Donations. And, *last of all*, Hire, when they are drawn to it by Money or Presents, which is much the most pitiful and sordid Way, as for those on the one hand that are taken by it, so likewise for those that endeavour to make use of it: For it is never well when People shall attempt to get that by Money, which ought to be the Reward of Virtue and Merit. However, seeing sometimes one must have Recourse to this Method as a Refuge, I shall give some Rules for our Direction in the Use of it; but first speak of those that are more nearly related to Virtue and Honesty. In much the same manner, and for several such Reasons, Men submit to the Power and Authority of another: Either because they have a *Kindness* for him; or have formerly received some Obligations from him; or *respect* him for his Worth; or *hope* they shall get something by it; or *fear* they shall be forced to it, if they do not do it voluntarily; or are drawn by fair *Promises* and large Donations; or, lastly, (as we see it too often practised in our own Republick) are downright *hired* to it.

CHAP.

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C H A P. VII.

A Governour should endeavour to make himself loved, and not feared. The Fates of several who have taken the contrary Method.

NOW of all those Methods, which tend to the Advancement and Maintenance of our Interest, there is none more proper and convenient than *Love*, and none more improper and inconvenient than *Fear*. For, as it is very well observ'd by ENNIUS, *Whom Men fear, they also hate; and whom they hate, they wish out of the World.* But that no Force of Power or Greatness whatsoever can bear up long against a Stream of Publick Hate, if it were not sufficiently known before, was of late made appear by an Instance of our own. And not the violent Death of that Tyrant only, who by Force of Arms oppress'd the City (which now most obeys him when taken out of the World) but the like untimely Ends of most other Tyrants, who have generally been attended by the same ill Fate, is a manifest Token that the Hatred of the People is able to ruin the most absolute Authority: For Obedience proceeding from *Fear*, cannot possibly be lasting; whereas, that which is the Effect of *Love*, will be faithful for ever. It is well enough in those who by open Force have reduced any Nation, and accordingly rule it with an high Hand, if they *do* sometimes use Rigour and Severity, like Masters towards their Slaves, when there is no other Way of holding them in Subjection: But for those who are Magistrates in a *free* City, to endeavour to make themselves feared by the People, is one of the maddest and most desperate Attempts upon the Face of the Earth. For tho' a Man should by his Power and Greatness oppress the Laws, and over-awe Liberty by Terror and Threatnings, yet still they will find Time to recover again, first by the private Resentment of the Citizens, and afterwards by their chusing in secret Consults, some worthier Person to free them from the Oppressor. And Liberty, after she has been chained up a while, is always more curst, and sets her Teeth

Teeth in deeper, than she would otherwise have done if she had never been restrain'd. Let us therefore embrace and adhere to that Method, which is of the most universal Influence, and serves not only to secure us what we have, but moreover to enlarge our Power and Authority: That is in short, Let us rather endeavour to be *loved* than *feared*, which is certainly the best way to make us successful, as well in our private as our publick Business. For those who desire to have others be afraid of them, must needs be afraid of those others in their Turns: What, for instance, shall we imagine of the elder DIONYSIUS? With what eternal Fears and Apprehensions must he needs be rack'd, when daring not to venture his Throat to any Razor, he was forced even to singe off his Beard with Coals: Or what of ALEXANDER, who was surnamed the PHEREAN? In what Torment, think we, must he perpetually live? When (as it is usually reported of him) he dared not so much as to rise from Table, and go to his own Wife THEBE's Chamber, one whom he loved with an entire Affection, without a *Barbarian*, and him (as it is said) too a branded *Thracian*, to lead the Way with his naked Sword? And would always dispatch some of his Guards before him, to search all the Cloaths and Coffers of the Women, for Fear lest any Weapon might be concealed within them. O miserable and unhappy Man! who could think a *Barbarian*, one who carried the Marks of his Condition in his Forehead, would be faithfuller to him than his own Wife. Neither, it seems, was he mistaken in it; for he was afterwards murdered by her Procurement, upon Suspicion of having to do with some other Woman. Nor indeed can any Authority, how absolute soever, subsist very long when it is thus generally feared: PHALARIS himself, who is particularly remarkable for his barbarous Cruelties, may serve for a Witness to this Truth; who was not destroyed by domestick Treacheries, like that ALEXANDER, whom I just now mentioned; nor yet by some few Men conspiring his Death, like our late Tyrant; but by a general Insurrection of all the *Agrigentines* falling upon him at once; Again,

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Did not the *Macedonians* revolt from DEMETRIUS, and all with one Consent march over to PYRRHUS? And when the *Lacedamonians* grew insolent and tyrannical, did not their Allies upon a sudden forsake them, and shew themselves idle and unconcerned Spectators of their Ruin at *Leuctra*, without ever stirring one Foot to their Assistance?

CHAP. VIII.

The just and gentle Government of the old Romans: When changed, and the fatal Consequences of that Change. Cæsar and Sylla's unjust Cruelties. One Cause of Civil Wars, is Mens hoping to raise themselves by them. All have Occasion for some Friends, though not for general Love.

I Much rather chuse, upon such a Subject, to bring Instances from Foreign, than our own Nation. However, I cannot but observe thus much, That so long as our Empire supported it self, not by the Methods of Injustice and Violence, but rather by Actions of Kindness and Gentleness; Wars were undertaken to protect its Allies, or defend its Honour, and accordingly their Issues were attended with Mercy, or at least no more Rigour than was absolutely necessary. The Senate then was a kind of Port or Refuge for Princes and Nations to have Recourse to in their Need; and our Officers and Commanders made it their greatest Glory to defend their Provinces, and assist their Allies, with Justice and Fidelity. This City therefore was not then the *Empress*, so properly as the *Protectress* of all the World. This Conduct and Method of managing the State, began by little and little to wear off before, but utterly *vanished* immediately after the Victory of Sylla; for People began to think nothing could be unjust to their Confederates and Allies, when once they had seen so great Cruelties exercised even upon their very Fellow-Citizens. This Man therefore was in a just Cause, but

but which was followed by a cruel and most unjust Victory : He having had the Boldness and Impudence to say, when in full Market he was selling the Goods of some honest and wealthy Men, and whom he himself knew to be *Roman Citizens*, *That he was going to make Sale of his own Booty*. But there has come one after him, whose Cause was impious, and his Victory yet more scandalous and inhuman ; who did not stop at selling of private Mens Estates, but involved all our Countries and Provinces together in one common Calamity. Hence we have seen, after Havock and Devastation made in other Countries, as it were by way of Prelude to the loss of our own Empire, the City *Marseilles* drawn along in Triumph ; and that very Place, without whose Assistance our former Generals never brought Triumph from beyond the *Alpes*, has now found one that could have so much Impudence, as to triumph over its own Destruction. I might bring a great many other Examples of most impious Treatment that hath been shewn towards our Allies : But this single Instance is abundantly sufficient, being one of the basest that was ever committed before the Face of the Sun. The Truth of it is, we have deserved these Misfortunes ; for if *others* had not escaped without Punishment for their Wickedness, *this Man* could never have arrived at that Insolence ; who, tho' he has left but few Heirs of his Estate, I am afraid will have a great many wicked ones of his Ambition : for as long as some dissolute and profligate Fellows remember that former inhuman Auction, and are in hopes one Day of seeing the same again, they will always be for propagating Civil Dissentions. Thus *PUBLIUS SYLLA*, who was so busy in *that* mentioned, when his Kinsman was Dictator, was never contented till he had managed a worse and more inhuman Action six and thirty Years after : and another, who was *Scribe* in that former Dictatorship, in this latter was advanced to be *Treasurer* of the City. By all which it is easie enough to perceive, that we are never to expect we shall be free from Civil Wars, so long as People hope to make their Fortunes by them. We have therefore only the
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Walls of our City remaining entire, and even *they*, as it were, expecting to feel the Effects of their abominable Wickedness; but as for the Republick, it is absolutely sunk into Ruins and Nothing. And all these Misfortunes have fallen upon us (that I may return to the Subject which occasioned this Digression) by our choosing to Govern rather by *Fear* than *Love*. What then ought particular Persons to expect, when Tyranny and Oppression could bring all these Evils upon the whole *Roman* Empire? This then being so manifestly plain, That *Love* is a most powerful Motive to Obedience, but *Fear* a most weak and dangerous one; it follows in the next place, that we should discourse of those Means, whereby such a *Love*, joined with *Honour* and *Confidence*, may most easily be gotten. Now this is what all Men do not equally stand in need of; but each should consider his own way of living, and accordingly judge what is convenientest for him; whether to be *beloved* by the generality of Men, or only by some few and select Persons. This however we may lay down for certain, as a first and most necessary Rule in this case, to procure at least some *faithful* and sincere Friends, who may have a true Kindness and Esteem for us. As far as this reaches, there is very little difference between even the greatest and meanest of People, and all sorts of them are almost equally concerned to endeavour after it. As for Honour, Glory, and the general Good-will of *all* the Citizens; these indeed are things which are not alike useful and necessary for all. However, for those that have been able to get them, they are very good Helps, as for most other Purposes, so for the obtaining of faithful Friends: But of Friendship I have treated in another Work, which is entitled *Lelins*.

CHAP. IX.

What the Ingredients of true Glory are. By what Means the Love of the People may be obtained. How Men may be brought to place a Confidence in us. Justice more powerful than Cunning to this End.

LET us now proceed to discourse of *Glory*; though that too is a Subject, upon which I have two Books already extant; however, I shall touch upon it here in short, because it is a thing of such Weight and Moment toward the successful Management of the most important Affairs. True and perfect *Glory*, then, is always made up of these three Ingredients: *First*, the Love and Good-will of the Multitude. *Secondly*, their Trusting and Reliance upon a Man. And, *Lastly*, their valuing and admiring him so as to think him a Person that really deserves Honour. The Means of getting these three from the Multitude, (to give one short and easy Rule) are very much the same as from particular Persons. However, there is another peculiar Way of approaching the People, and gaining Admittance into the Hearts and Affections of all Men in general. Of those three then, which I just now mentioned, let us first see the Ways of obtaining *Love*. Now the Love of the People is moved by nothing so much, as by Bounty and doing Kindnesses: Next they are pleased with an hearty Desire and Inclination toward it, tho' a Man have not wherewithal to exercise it. Thirdly, The very Name and Reputation of having Beneficence and Liberality, Justice, and Fidelity, with the rest of those Virtues which give a kind of Smoothness and Agreeableness to our Conversation, is of very great Efficacy in getting us the Favour and Love of the Multitude: and the reason of it is, because Honesty and *Decorum* delight us of themselves, and by their own native Beauties and Excellencies move and engage the Hearts of all Men: which seeing they appear with more Lustre in the Virtues, which I just now mentioned; it follows, that by Nature we must love those People, in whom we suppose

pose such Virtues to reside. And these are the principal Causes of Mens loving us: there might, I confess, be some others given, but not of equal Weight and Importance with these. We are to speak in the next place of their *Trusting* or *Confiding* in us; for the compassing of which, it is necessary we should be supposed to have two Qualifications, viz. *Prudence* and *Justice*. For we trust those Men, whom we believe to understand Matters better than we do; to be wise enough to see things before they are arriv'd, and in the Management of them, if any Danger should happen, to be ready at finding out Ways and Expedients, to disentangle themselves from the Perplexities of it: in which Men imagine that all true and profitable Wisdom consists. But when a Man is found really *Just* and *Faithful*, that is *Good*, we place so much Trust and Confidence in such a one, as not to entertain any the least suspicion of Deceit or Injury. To such a Man therefore we think we may wisely, and with a secure Confidence, entrust our Safeties, our Children, and our Fortunes. Justice therefore, of these two Virtues, has as much the more strong and effectual Tendency, to procure this Credit and Confidence from the People. For *that*, even without Wisdom can go a great way toward the obtaining of this End; whereas Wisdom, without *that*, is unable to do any thing: For the more shrewd and cunning any Person is, the more he is suspected and hated by the World, if he be not counted honest and upright withal. Justice therefore, in conjunction with Wisdom, can make a Man be trusted as far as he pleases, Justice without the other can do a great deal; but the other without *that*, is of no Force at all.

C H A P. X.

Why he talks of Wisdom and Justice as separate from one another, tho' really there is a mutual Connexion between them. What will make Men admire any one. The Difference between Despising and having an ill Opinion of a Man.

SOME Men perhaps will be ready to admire, since it is so generally agreed on by Philosophers, and has been so often asserted by me my self, That whoever has *one* must have *all* the Virtues; why I should speak of them separately now, as tho' it were possible for a Man to have Prudence, without having Justice at the same time. I answer, That the Way of Expression is highly different, according to the difference of the Subjects we are treating of; whether they are such as require a Niceness and Subtily in handling, or to be suited to the Capacities of ordinary People. I do but speak here with the Vulgar therefore, when I call one Man *courageous*, another *just*, and a third *prudent*; for in treating upon a Subject which concerns the People, we must make use of common and ordinary Expressions; which is what has been done by PANÆTIUS himself. But to return to our Purpose: Of the three Ingredients, which we said were required to the making up of Glory; the third was this, That Men should admire and value us so, as to think we are Persons that really deserve Honour. Now generally speaking they are apt to *admire* whatever they see Great, and beyond their Apprehensions; and likewise in Particulars, if they discover any Excellency which they never expected. They admire those therefore, and extol them even to the Skies, in whom (as they think) they have found any rare and extraordinary Qualities: But as for those others, who have neither Virtue, Spirit, nor Courage in them, these Men they wholly despise and set light by. For they cannot
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be said to *despise* all those, of whom they entertain but an *ill Opinion*. They are *far from thinking well* of your roguish, backbiting, cozening sort of Fellows, who are never unprepared for the doing Man an Injury; but by no means *despise* them for all that; their Contempt (as was said) lighting only upon those, who neither do Good to themselves, nor others (as we commonly speak;) that is, who spend all their Lives in meer Idleness and Sloth, without ever minding or taking care of any thing. Those, who are esteemed to excel in Virtue; more especially draw Men to Wonder and Admiration, who keep themselves free, as from all other things that are base and unbecoming, so more especially from those sorts of Vices, which the rest of Mankind cannot so easily stand against. *Pleasures*, for instance, are very alluring and charming Mistresses, which are apt to ensnare the better part of the Soul, and entice it aside from the Paths of Virtue; and *Pain*, on the contrary, racks and torments us, so that the dread of it carries most Men beyond the Bounds of Reason. Thus again, when *Life and Death*, *Riches and Poverty*, are the things in question, there are very few Men but are wholly transported with *Desire* of the one, and *Abhorrence* of the other. When a Man therefore has got such a great and exalted Soul, as that he can look upon all these with Indifference; and closely pursues and adheres to Honesty, in whatever Shape she presents herself; then it is that Virtue appears with such a Brightness, as that all the whole World must admire her Beauties.

CHAP. XI.

Justice, and a Contempt of Riches, are especially Causes of Mens Admirat[i]on, Justice alone procures all the three things which make up Glory; and how. It is a necessary Virtue for all sorts of People. Even Robbers and Pyrates cannot subsist without it. Some Examples to this Purpose.

SUCH a Constitution of Soul therefore, as can make a Man despise all these Goods or Evils, begets him a mighty Esteem and Admirat[i]on: But especially *Justice* (which single Virtue serves to give Men the Name and Denomination of Good) seems much the most admirable to the generality of People: and not without Reason; it being impossible for any one to be Just, who is afraid at the Approaches of Death, of Pain, of Banishment or Poverty; or prefers those things which are contrary to these, before the great Duties of Justice and Honesty. And more particularly yet, Men admire those, whom they find unconcerned as to the matter of *Money*; and count them tried, as it were like Gold in the Fire, who have been able to withstand the Temptations of it. Justice therefore of it self is sufficient to procure those three things that are requisite to Glory: In the *first* place, The Love and Good-will of the People; because of the Kindnesses it shews to very many. *Secondly*, Their Confidence: And *Thirdly*, Their Admirat[i]on: Both for the same Reason, *viz.* Because it neglects and despises those things, which the rest of Men pursue with such Eagerness and Passion. Now, in my Opinion, not only the being in a publick Station, but every Method of Living whatsoever, requires the Helps and Assistances of Men; as for other Ends, so particularly for this, that we may have some familiar Friends to converse with; which it is no easy Matter for a Man to obtain, without at least the Shew and Reputation of Honesty. From hence it follows, That it is necessary even for those Men themselves, who have withdrawn from the World, and chosen the
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Quiet and Retirements of the Country, to be reputed at least Men of Honesty and Integrity: And that so much the more, because otherwise they will certainly be counted dishonest; and then, having nothing of Guard or Defence, they must needs be exposed to perpetual Injuries. The same Justice also is necessary for those (if ever they hope to succeed in their Business) who buy, sell, lett, hire, and are concern'd in the Commerce and Affairs of the World: Nay, it is a thing of such powerful Moment and universal Influence, as that those who live only upon Villanies and Wickedness, can never subsist without something of Justice: For should any Thief steal from another that belonged to the same Confederacy, he would immediately be expelled, as unfit to be a Member even of a Society of Robbers; and should the Leader himself not distribute their Booty, according to the Measures of Justice and Honesty, he would either be murder'd or deserted by his Company: Nay, it is said that your Robbers have some certain Statutes, which they are all of them bound to observe among themselves. THEOPOMPUS tells us of a certain Rogue, one BARDYLIS an *Illyrian*, that got a great Power by the Fame of his Justice in dividing the Prey: And VIRIATUS the *Lusitanian*, got a much greater, to whom even some of our Armies and Generals were forced to yield, till he was beaten and weaken'd by that CAIUS LELIUS, who was surnamed the *Wise*, in the time of his Prætorship; who brought down his Haughtiness to so low an Ebb, as to render the War easy for those that came after him. If Justice then be of so great Efficacy, as to raise and increase even the Power of Pirates; of what mighty Force must we suppose it to be, in the midst of Laws, and in a well-constituted Republick.

C H A P. XII.

What made Men at first choose Kings and make Laws. The justest Men usually made Kings and why. How to make use of the Glory he hath been discoursing of. An excellent Rule of Socrates. Glory must be founded upon solid Virtue. Whatever is Counterfeit will some time be discovered.

IT was for the sake of enjoying the Benefits of *this Justice* (the great Use of which we have now been discoursing of) that the *Medes* heretofore, as we are told by *HERODOTUS*, and I am apt to imagine our own Ancestors too, chose always the honestest Persons for their Kings. For the poorer sort of people, being oppressed by the richer, had recourse to some one of remarkable Virtue, to save and protect them from Violence and Injuries: who constituting Measures of Equity and Justice, bound the greatest to observe them as well as the meanest. And that which was the reason for their choosing Kings, in like manner put them upon enacting Laws: For Men have always desired to enjoy such a Right, as all sorts of them might have an equal Share in (for otherwise indeed it would be no *Right* at all,) which when they *could* get by the Justice and Honesty of some one Person, they were contented with him, and never looked any further; but when they *could not*, they were put upon a necessity of inventing Laws, which could never be partial, but use the same Language to all Ranks and Conditions. It is very plain therefore, that those Men were usually chosen to be Kings, who were counted by the People Men of Honesty and Integrity: But if they were held Prudent and Wise wishal, the People thought there was nothing they might not obtain by their Conduct and Management. By all means therefore let us constantly follow, and stick close to Justice; as for its own sake, (for otherwise indeed it will not be properly *Justice*) so for the increase of our Honour and Reputation. Now as it is not sufficient for a Man to get Riches, unless he has the Wisdom to dispose of them so, as thereby to furnish out all his Expences, not only those of his bare Necessities,
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but those of his Bounty and Liberality too : So neither is it enough for a Man to get Glory, unless he knows how to make use of it with discretion : Though what SOCRATES says is very excellent to this purpose, *That the readiest Way, and, as it were, shortest Cut, to arrive at Glory,* is really to be *what one desires* to be accounted. Those People therefore are highly mistaken, who think of obtaining a solid Reputation, by vain Shews and hypocritical Pretences ; by composed Countenances and studied Forms of Words : for true Glory takes deep rooting, and grows and flourishes more and more ; but that which is only in Shew and meer Outside, quickly decays and withers like Flowers ; nor can any thing be lasting that is only counterfeit. I might bring a great many pregnant Examples for the proof of these Assertions ; but for brevity sake, I shall content my self with those of but one single Family. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, the Son of PUBLIUS, will always be praised and had in Admiration, as long as there shall any Memorials remain of the *Roman* Achievements : But his Sons, on the contrary, were not in their Lives-time approved of by good Men : and since their Decease have been numbred among those, who were justly Slain.

C H A P. XIII.

What young Men should do to make themselves known, and taken Notice of in the World. Courage in War, the first thing that sets off young Men. Another, Temperance, Sobriety, &c. Keeping often Company with Wise and Good Men, another thing that very much recommends them.

IT is the Business therefore of those, who desire to get true Glory, strictly to discharge all the Duties of Justice : what those are, we have shewn already in the former Book. I shall now proceed to lay down some Directions, how a Man should do to appear before the World what he is in himself ; though that of SOCRATES

is certainly the wisest that can possibly be given, *To make sure in the first place, that he really be in himself, that which he desires to appear before the World.* For when a young Gentleman is just come into the Publick, and is already known and remarkable in it, either by the Fame of his Father's Actions (which I think, SON MARCUS, may be your Case;) or by any other Means or Accident whatsoever; the Eyes of all are immediately upon him, and every one is enquiring after what he does, and how he steers his Life; and, as though he were set in the publick View, so none of his Actions, or so much as his Words, can be long kept in secret. But those, who at the Beginning and Entrance of their Lives, by reason of their Meannells, are unknown to the World; as soon as ever they come up to the Years of Discretion, should set before their Eyes the most honourable Places, and bend all their Studies and honest Endeavours toward the obtaining of them: which they ought to do with so much the more boldness, because Men are so far from envying Youth, that they rather encourage and forward them in their Progress. The first thing then, that sets a young Man off, and recommends him to the Publick, is Courage and Bravery in Martial Affairs; by which a great many amongst our Forefathers, who were scarce ever wholly disengaged from Wars, very nobly distinguished and signalized themselves. But you, my Son, have had the misfortune to light upon the Times of a Civil War, wherein the one Party was wicked and detestible, and the other unfortunate and unsuccessful: In which, however, when POMPEY had given you the Command of one Wing, you got much Praise from that great Commander and all his Army, by your Riding, Darting, and patiently abiding all the Fatigues of War. But as for this Piece of your rising Glory, *that*, and the whole Constitution of the Republick, are both of them fallen to the Ground together. But I never designed so to model this Discourse, as that it should be proper for none but you; but as that it might be applicable to all Men in general: I shall go on therefore to the remaining part of it. As then in all things the Functions of the
Soul

Soul are more noble and excellent than those of the Body; so the Effects of our Reason and Understanding are greater and more powerful, as to this Particular, than those of meer Strength. Now of these there is none that can more recommend and adorn a young Man, than Temperance and Sobriety, Duty and Respect to his natural Parents, Love and Good-nature towards his Friends and Relations. Another good Way for young People to get known, and have a good Reputation, is often to attend on some Great and Wise Men, who are thought to design for the Good of the Publick: For when they are observed to be frequently with such, the People are presently apt to imagine, that they will be like those Men, whom they choose for their Patterns. Thus PUB. RUTILUS, when he was young, had the general Vogue of a very honest Man, and an able Lawyer, because he frequented the House of MERTIUS. As for CRASSUS, whilst he was very young, he was not beholden to any one else, but obtained of himself everlasting Honour, by undertaking that noble and glorious Accusation; when at that term of Years, wherein others are commended if they begin but to Study and Exercise the Art; (as we have it recorded of the famous DEMOSTHENES) at that Age, I say, did CRASSUS make it appear, that he could perform *that* laudably in the open Courts of Justice, which he might, without disparagement have been studying at home.

Discourse of two Sorts. Affability very powerful to obtain Mens Love, &c. But Eloquence much more. Several Occasions of shewing a Man's Eloquence. To Defend more laudable than to Accuse; but the latter in some Cases honourable enough. Several Examples of brave Accusations. 'Tis lawful in some Cases to defend the really Guilty; but never to accuse the Innocent. The Judges and Advocates Duties. Defending the Accused, especially honourable, when it is against some powerful Oppressor.

BUT of Speaking or Discourse there are two Sorts; the one proper only for common Conversation, the other for Pleadings and Debates in the Publick. Of these two the latter, which is what we call Eloquence, is apparently most powerful towards the Procurement of Glory; but yet it is unexpressible of what Influence Courtesie and Affability are, in the Business of obtaining Mens Love and Affections. There are extant Letters of PHILIP to ALEXANDER, ANTIPATER to CASSANDER, and ANTIGONUS to PHILIP; in which these most Wise and Prudent Princes (for such we are told they really were) advise each his Son to speak kindly to the *Multitude*, and try to win the Hearts of both *them* and the Soldiers by gentle Words and familiar Appellations. But that other Discourse, which is proper for Pleadings and Harangues in Publick, does oftentimes move and transport the whole Multitude: For when a Man speaks so wisely and fluently, they are presently rapt into a strange Admiration, and cannot but conclude, as soon as ever they hear him, that he is wiser and more knowing than the rest of Men are. But if there be Modesty joined with the Power and Weight of his Eloquence, there is nothing in the World can more raise their Admiration; and especially too, if he be a young Man that speaks. Now the Subjects and Occasions, that stand in need of Eloquence, are more than one, and several young Gentlemen, in our own Republick have made themselves eminent in several of them: Some for Example, by speaking in the Senate-House, and others, by

by pleading in the Courts of Justice. Of these Ways the latter is most fruitful of Admiration, the Duties of which are only two, *Defending* and *Accusing*. It is much more commendable to defend than to accuse; however, this *latter* has oftentimes brought Men to a considerable Reputation. We mention'd the Example of CRASSUS but just now, and MARCUS ANTONIUS, when he was a young Man, did the same; and nothing got SULPITIUS so much Credit for his *Eloquence*, as his brave Accusation of CAIUS NORBANUS, a very seditious and troublesome Citizen. This nevertheless must be done but seldom, or indeed never, unless it be undertaken on the behalf of the Republick, as it was by those three whom I just now mention'd: Or, Secondly, upon the Account of some Injury received, as by the two LUCULLUSES; or else for the sake of those under our Protection, as was formerly done by myself for the *Sicilians*; and by JULIUS for the *Sardinians* against MARCUS ALBIUS: In like manner FUSIUS made his Industry be taken notice of, by his accusing AQUILIUS. Once then or so, it is allowable enough; but by no means often. However, should the Commonwealth call a Man to it, he might do it often upon her Account, it being no Disgrace to be often employed in taking Vengeance on her Enemies. Yet, even in this Case, it is still the best way to be moderate and cautious: For he shews himself a Man of a very unnatural and merciless Temper (or rather indeed not a Man at all, but a savage Monster) who can endure to make it his very Business and Employment, to bring many People into Danger of their Lives: Beside that it is dangerous to the Person himself too, and not only so, but even scandalous and shameful, to get himself the odious Name of *An Accuser*: Which of late was the Fortune of MARCUS BRUTUS, a Person that was sprung of a noble Family, and Son of that BRUTUS, who was so particularly famed for his Skill in the Civil Laws. It is another Rule of Duty more especially to be taken notice of, and which cannot be broken without manifest Villany, *Never to bring an innocent Person into Danger*. For since kind Nature has given us *Eloquence*, to serve for the Good and Preservation of all Men;

Men; what can be more, either wicked, or inhuman, than to turn it to the Ruin and Destruction of the best of them? It is our Duty then never to accuse the Innocent: But we need not, on the other hand, make any Scruple of speaking sometimes in Behalf of the Guilty, provided he be not wholly villanous and abominable. For this is no more than what the People desire, than what Custom authorizes, and the common Bowels of Humanity encline us to. It is the Duty of a *Judge* to endeavour after nothing but the real Truth; but an *Advocate* sometimes may speak up for that, which carries no more than an outward Appearance of it: Which, I think, I should hardly have ventured to say, (especially in writing a Philosophical Discourse) but that I perceive it was the Opinion of PANÆTIUS, a Person of as great and considerable Authority, as any among the *Stoicks*. But *Defending* is that which brings the largest Returns both of Glory and Interest; especially if one happen to be assistant to those, who seem injured and oppressed by the Power of some Great One. This was my Fortune, as a great many times, so more especially in my younger Days; when I stood in Defence of ROSCIUS AMERINUS, against all the Greatness and Authority of SYLLA: And you know the Oration, which I then spoke, is at this time extant.

C H A P. XV.

Two sorts of Liberality. Better to help Men by our Labour and Industry, than by our Money. Philip's Reproof to his Son Alexander to this Purpose. The Inconveniencies of the second sort of Liberality. Measures to be observed in it.

HAVING given this Account of the particular Duties, which young Men must do for the Attainment of Glory; we are next to discourse of Beneficence or Liberality. Of this there are two Sorts; the one of which

which consists in obliging those who need it, by our *Labour and Industry*; the other by our *Money*. The latter of these two is much the more easy, especially for those who have plentiful Fortunes; but, the former, on the other hand, more glorious and magnificent, and more suitable to the Character of a brave and exalted Soul. For though there is a Good-will, and generous Readiness to oblige, shewn in either, yet in the one Case we are beholding to the *Chest*, in the other to the *Virtues and Abilities* of the Person. Besides, those Sort of Kindnesses, which are done by the Assistance of Money, or the like, within a short space of Time draw their own Fountain dry; so that this Liberality doth, as it were, eat out his own Bowels, and the more you have formerly obliged in this kind, the fewer you will be able to oblige for the future. But now, on the other hand, he whose Generosity shews itself in Labour, that is, in Virtue, and being active for another's Good, the more Men he hath formerly shewn himself kind to, the more he will have ready to assist him ever after: beside, that by the Custom of doing good Offices, he gets a kind of Habit, and grows much more expert in the Art of obliging. PHILIP the Father of ALEXANDER the Great, reproves his Son sharply in one of his Epistles, for endeavouring to purchase the Good-will of the *Macedonians*, by giving them Donations; *In the name of Wonder, says he, What Method of Reasoning could lead you into such a Thought, as to imagine that those Men would ever be faithful to you, whom yourself had Corrupted with Money? 'What! do you design to be 'thought, not the King, but only the Steward and Purse-bearer of the Macedonians?' That Steward and Purse-bearer is admirably well said, because it is so scandalous a Business for a Prince; and that calling Donations a Corrupting the People, is better yet; for those who receive them are perpetually the worse for it, and only made readier to expect the same again. PHILIP writ this to his Son alone, but it may serve for a Direction to all Men in general. I think we may take it for granted therefore, that that sort of Bounty, which consists in doing Kindnesses by our Labour and Industry, is more*
Virtuous

Virtuous and Creditable, can oblige more People, and has more ways of doing it than that other has. Not but that *sometimes* a Man should give, nor is this sort of Bounty to be wholly rejected; nay, one ought oftentimes to distribute some part of one's Money to those, who are well-deserving Persons, and stand in need of such Assistance: But still it must be done with great Prudence and Moderation. For some Men have squander'd away whole Estates by inconsiderately giving; which is certainly the foolishhest thing in the World; for so a Man disables himself ever after from doing of that which he takes most delight in. But the worst thing is this, that Profuseness in Giving is usually accompanied by unjust Ways of Getting: For when by this means Men have parted with what is their own, they are forced to lay hands upon that which is another's: And by this means they miss what is their principal Design, *viz.* The obtaining Mens Love by their Bounty and Generosity; for they get more Hatred from those whom they injure, than Good-Will from those whom they hoped to oblige by it. We ought therefore neither *so* to lock up our Riches, as that even Liberality itself cannot open them; nor *so* to keep them open, as if they were common to all Men in general: The best way is, always to observe a due Medium, and give more or less in proportion to our Estates. In fine, we should do well to remember a Saying, which is now grown so common as to be a Proverb amongst us, *Bounty has got no Bottom*: For how indeed is it possible; there should ever be any end of it, when those, who are used to it, look to receive again; and others, from seeing them, are taught to expect the same?

C H A P. XVI.

Two sorts of Givers. How Liberality and Prodigality differ: What the chief Advantage of Riches. Publick Shows to the People very foolish. Several Examples of magnificent Ædiles among the Romans.

OF those who give largely, there are two sorts; the one of which are *Prodigal*, and the other *Liberals*.
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The *Prodigal* are those, who consume vast Sums in making publick Feasts, and distributing Portions of Meat to the People; or in providing Gladiators to fight with one another, or with wild Beasts in the Theatres; or in making Preparation for other such Sports, and Recreations of the Multitude: things that are forgotten in a very short time, if ever at all thought on, after once they are over. But the *Liberal* are those, who dispose of their Money in redeeming poor Prisoners; in helping their Friends and Acquaintance out of Debt; in assisting them toward the marrying their Daughters; or putting them into some Method of making, or encreasing their Fortunes. I admire therefore, what should come into THEOPHRASTUS's Head, who in a Book of his, which he wrote *concerning Riches*, amongst several noble and excellent things, has been guilty of one very grievous Absurdity: for he runs out mightily in Commendation of Magnificence, and giving publick Shows or Donations to the People; and thinks the supplying of such Expences as these, the very principal Fruit and Advantage of Riches: but in my Opinion it is both a much greater, and more durable Advantage, to be furnished with Money for these Acts of Bounty, of which I have just now been giving some Instances. But ARISTOTLE, with much more Reason and Judgment, reproves us for not being amazed at those Sums, which are daily thrown away to caress the People: 'Should any one (says he) when a City is besieged and reduced to great Streights, give a large Sum of Money for a little Cup of Water; People would wonder and admire at it strangely, and hardly be persuaded to believe it at first; but afterwards possibly, upon farther Consideration, would be ready to pardon it, because it was a Case of meer Exigence and Necessity: But yet we can see, without any thing of Admiration, those vast Charges and infinite Expences, which Men put themselves to for no Reason in the World; neither for the Relief of any Want or Necessity, nor yet for the Encrease of their Glory and Dignity: And that Pleasure of the Multitude which is principally aimed at, is of short Continuance; and only tickles and soothes

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up the Meanest of the People, who themselves will forget the Satisfaction they received, as soon as ever the Show and Recreation is at an end.' He adds moreover, with a great deal of Reason, 'That Children indeed, and some trifling Women, together with Slaves, and the more servile Part of those who are free, might perhaps take a Pleasure in such foolish kind of Pastime: but that Men of true Prudence, and those who judge of things by the Rules of Reason, can by no means either commend or approve of them.' I know it is a Custom in our Republick, and *has been* from the time of our good Fore-fathers, to expect and demand, even from the soberest Citizens, something that is splendid and magnificent in their *Ædileships*. Hence *PUBLIUS CRASSUS*, who was surnamed *The Wealthy*, and really was such, in his Office of *Ædile* was very magnificent and noble in his Entertainments: and *LUCIUS CRASSUS*, a little while after, was full-out as generous, though Colleague of *MUCIUS* the most moderate Man living. Next after these came *CAIUS CLAUDIUS*, the Son of *APPIUS*; and a great many others, *viz.* the *LUCULLI*, *HORTENSII*, and *SILANUS*. But *PUBLIUS LENTULUS*, when I was Consul, exceeded all others that ever went before him, who was afterwards followed and copied by *SCAURUS*. But of all these Shows, that have been given to please and entertain the People, those of my Friend *POMPEY* were the greatest and most magnificent, exhibited when he was the second time Consul. In all which Cases it is easie to see what is my Opinion.

C. H. A. P. XVII.

Expences to please the People allowable, in some Cases; and what they are. Some Examples of laudable ones. Upon what one may best lay out his Money in this kind.

NO Man however should be so far moderate, as to draw upon himself the Suspicion of Avarice.
MAMERCUS,

MAMERCUS, a Person of very great Riches, was put by the Consulship for no other Reason, but because he refused to be *Ædile* first. If such things therefore are demanded by the People, and *allowed* of, though perhaps not *desired*, by good Men, they must even be performed; but so as to keep within the compass of your Estate, as I my self did. Nay, though they should not be demanded by the People, yet they might wisely enough be presented them, upon a Prospect of gaining some more considerable Advantage by it. Thus ORESTES of late got a great deal of Credit, by giving the People a Dinner in the Streets, under the Notion of paying his Tenth to HERCULES. Nor did any one ever find fault with M. SEIUS, for selling out Corn at an easie Rate, in the time of a very great Dearth and Scarcity: for he got himself free from a great and inveterate Hatred of the People, by a Cost, which (considering he was at that time *Ædile*) was neither dishonest, nor yet extraordinary great: But of all, my Friend MILO got the greatest Honour, by purchasing Gladiators for the Defence of the Publick, which was wholly included in my single Safety, and thereby defeating the mad and pernicious Attempts of CLODIUS. Such Charges therefore are not to be shunned, when either they are *necessary* or *very advantageous*: but even when they are so, we must still not exceed the due Limits of *Mediocrity*. LUC. PHILIPPUS, the Son of QUINTUS, an extraordinary ingenious and eminent Man, was wont, I confess, to be making his Brags, That he got all the Honours the Republick could give him, without ever spending one Farthing that way: CAIUS CURIO used to say the same: and even I my self have some reason to boast upon this account: for considering the greatness of the Honours I got, and that too by every one of the Votes, and the very first Years I was capable of them, (which is more than can be said by either of those two, whom I just now mentioned) the Charge of my *Ædileship* was very inconsiderable. But the best way of laying out Money in this kind, is to repair the City-Walls, make Docks, Havens, Aqueducts, and the like; things that may serve to the general

neral Use and Advantage of the Publick. For though things which are present, and given down upon the nail, are more acceptable for a Time; yet the Memory of these will be more lasting, and continued even down to Posterity. I forbear to speak much against Theatres, Porticoes, new Temples, and the like, out of Respect to my old Friend POMPEY: but I find them not approved of by the famousst Men; particularly not by PANÆTIUS himself, whom I have very much followed, though not quite translated, in this Work. Neither are they liked by DEMETRIUS PHALERIUS, who blames PERICLES, one of the greatest Men amongst all the *Grecians*, for squandring away such a vast Sum of Money, upon that noble Structure at the Entrance of the *Acropolis*. But I have spoken sufficiently upon all this Subject, in those Books I have written *concerning the Republick*. To conclude therefore, All such Profusions are, *generally speaking* (I think) to be blamed; but yet at *sometimes*, and upon certain Occasions, may be rendred *necessary*: However, even then they must be proportioned to one's Estate, and kept within the Limits of Reason and Moderation.

CHAP. XVIII.

Liberality to be varied according to the Variety of Circumstances. The Merits of the Receiver especially to be considered. What Acts of Bounty we should more particularly exercise. Measures to be observed in Receiving Money. It is profitable sometimes to part with one's Right. When a Man uses an Estate as he ought. Hospitality deservedly commended.

IN that other sort of Giving, which proceeds from *Liberality*, we should not keep constantly to one certain Measure; but vary according to the Variety of Circumstances in the Persons that receive. His Case (for instance) who struggles at present under some pressing Necessity, is different from his, who is well enough

nough to pass, and only desires to improve his Fortune. We should lend our Assistance in the first place, to those, who are under the Burden and Weight of some Misfortune; unless they are such as deserve to be miserable: We should be ready however to forward those likewise, who desire only of us our Helping-hand, not so much to save them from being Unfortunate, as to raise them to some higher Degrees of Fortune. But here we must be careful to acquaint our selves thoroughly with the Fitness of the Persons: for that of ENNIUS is admirably well said:

I take good Actions, when ill applied, to become ill ones.

Now that which is given to a truly honest and grateful Person, is paid us in the Acknowledgment he himself makes, and in the Good-Will that is got by it from the rest of the World. For nothing is more pleasing to all Mankind, than Bounty bestowed without Rashness and Precipitancy; and the Generality of Men praise it so much the more, because the Liberality of every great Man, is a common kind of Sanctuary for all that are needy. We should endeavour therefore, as far as we are able, to oblige many Men by such Acts of Generosity, as may not be forgotten as soon as ever they are over; but be remembered by the Children and Posterity of the Receivers, in such manner as to lay a Necessity upon them of shewing their Gratitude: I say *Necessity*, for all People hate one that takes no care of being grateful to his Benefactors, and count him that is such, injurious to themselves, because he discourages Bounty and Liberality, and so is a common Enemy to all the poorer sort. Besides, this way of Giving, whereby Captives are ransomed, and the meaner Folk enriched, is useful and advantagious to the Publick itself; and has frequently been practised by those of our Order, as appears very fully from the Oration of CRASSUS. That other Way therefore of expending Money, which consists in making Shows for the Entertainment of the Vulgar, ought (I think) by no means to be compared with this: The

one comports well with the Character of a great and prudent Person? the *other* of such as cajole the People, and look out for Pleasures to tickle the Fancies of the unstable Multitude. And as it is a Duty to be generous in Giving, so is it not to be too rigorous in Demanding; but in every Transaction of Buying, Selling, Letting, and Hiring, to behave ourselves towards our Neighbours and Chapmen, with all the Fairness and Courtesy imaginable; to let go something of our strict and just Rights, upon certain Occasions; to avoid all Suits and Contentions at Law, as far as can reasonably and fairly be expected; perhaps I might add, *and even something farther*; for in several Cases to deliver up one's Right, is not only generous, but advantageous too. However, a Man should have a decent Regard to his Estate and Fortune; for it is not over-reputable to let *that* be ruined by his Easiness and Neglect; and yet on the other hand he should carry himself so, as to avoid all Suspicion of a sordid, mean, or avaritious Temper. For it is then a Man uses his Money as he ought to do, when he shews himself liberal, without ruining his Fortune. THEOPHRASTUS commends, and with very good Reason, another sort of Bounty, which we call *Hospitality*: For there is nothing, in my Mind, more handsom and becoming, than constantly to have the Houses of Noblemen open, and ready to entertain all Strangers of Fashion; and it is no small Credit and Reputation to the Publick, that Strangers never fail to meet with that sort of Bounty and Liberality in our City: Beside that there is nothing can be more useful for those who design by honest Means to get an Interest in the World, than to recommend themselves to the Esteem and Goodliking of Foreign Nations, by the help of those People whom they thus entertain. THEOPHRASTUS tells us of CIMON the *Athenian*, that he shewed his Hospitality even to all his Brethren of the *Lacian Tribe*; and not only made it his own constant Custom, but also commanded his Bailiffs the same, to keep open House for any one of the *Laciada*, that should pass that Way.

C H A P. XIX.

The Liberality which consists in doing good Offices for others: Two sorts of it. What sorts of Study afford most Opportunities of it. The Ruin of Civil Law and Eloquence. All Men may do kindnesses of this Nature if they please. We should be careful of not Offending some, by Obliging others.

I Come now to speak of that other sort of Bounty, which consists not in *Giving*, but in *Labouring* for another's Good; and extends itself as to the Republick in general, so to each Member of the City in particular. The Civil Law principally gives us Opportunities of exercising this: For there is nothing more proper to get a Man Interest and Credit in the World, than the managing the Law-suits of a great many Persons, the assisting them with his Advice, and doing for them all that he can by his Knowledge, and Skill in that Learning. And therefore I admire the Wisdom of our Ancestors, as for several Reasons, so particularly for this, that the Knowledge and Interpretation of their excellent Civil Law, was counted a matter of the highest Credit and Reputation among them. This the greatest Men have kept constantly among themselves, till this late sad Disorder and Confusion of every thing: But now the Glory of this sort of Learning, together with all Honours and Degrees of Dignity, is utterly ruined and fallen to just Nothing. And to make the matter still so much the worse; all this has happened in the Days of One, who, as he equalled in Dignity all that have gone before him, so he was far above them in the Knowledge of the Laws. This Study then is approved of by most People, and puts it in one's Power to assist a great many, and oblige them by Kindnesses. There is another sort of Knowledge near related to this, the Art, I mean, of perswasive Speaking, which carries more Majesty and Ornament along with it, and is more pleasing and liked of, by the

the generality of Men. For what is there in the World more extraordinary than Eloquence, whether we consider the Admiration of its Hearers, the Reliance of those who stand in need of its Assistance, or the Good-will procured by it from those whom it defends? Our Ancestors therefore held this among the chief of their Civil Professions. Any one then must oblige a great many, and have a large Number of Clients and Dependants, who is able to speak well, and willing to take pains, (and as it was the Custom of our good Fore-Fathers) is ready to undertake many Mens Causes, without ever expecting to be rewarded for his Trouble. And here I have a fair Opportunity offered me, to bemoan the great Downfal, that I may not say the utter Extinction, of Eloquence; but that I am afraid I shall seem to complain for my own Sake only. However I cannot but with some Concern take notice, what a great many excellent Orators we have lost; how few there are rising, whom we can expect any thing from; and how much fewer who are able to perform and do any thing; and for all that, how many full of Impudence and Presumption. Now it is not for all, nor indeed very many, to be either skilful Lawyers, or eloquent Pleaders: However, there is no one, if he would make it his Business, but may do friendly Offices to several People; either by begging some Kindnesses for them, or by recommending their Cases to the Judges and Officers; or by being industrious in promoting their Interests; or lastly, by using his Endeavours with those, who either are able Lawyers, or eloquent Orators: which whoever shall do, will make a great many be beholden to him, and get himself a general Interest in the World. There is one thing however I would advertise him of, (tho' I think it is so obvious, that I hardly need to do it) which is, to have a care of offending *some*, whilst he is endeavouring to be serviceable to *others*. For it often comes to pass, that such do a Diskindness, either to *those* whom they ought to have obliged, or to *those* who are able to make them suffer for it afterwards: Which shews Carelessness and Negligence, if done undesignedly;

but

but if designedly, Rashness and Imprudence. And if it should happen that we are forced, tho' unwillingly, to disoblige any Person, we must endeavour to excuse it as well as we are able; by shewing the Necessity we lay under of doing so, and how it was utterly impossible for us to avoid it: and must be careful and industrious to repair the Injury, by making some reasonable Amends for it afterwards.

C H A P. XX.

Men are readier to assist one that is Wealthy and Great, than one that is Poor and Honest. Reasons why they ought to do the contrary. The Evil Effects of Mens Love of Riches. Never to do an Injury to one, for the sake of Obliging another.

NOW whenever we do a *Kindness* or *Friendly Office* to another, we usually regard one of these two Things, *viz.* Either the *Honesty*, or the *Greatness* of the Person. It is easily said, and every one is ready enough to profess, That in placing their Favours, they have much more Respect to the *Merits* of the Person, than to his Fortune in the World. This is very fairly and honestly spoken: but yet I would be glad to be shewn that Man, who is more willing to help one that is *Honest* and *Poor*, than to get the Favour of one that is *Wealthy* and *Powerful*. For who is not readiest to be serviceable to those, from whom he expects the most speedy Requital? But People would do well to consider more thoroughly the Natures of things: For though a poor Man, it is true, cannot make a Requital, yet if he is honest, he will acknowledge the Obligation: And it was no unhandsom Saying, whoever was the Author of it, "That in Case of a *Debt* the Man who *acknowledges* it, doth not thereby *pay* it; and the Man who *pays* it, does no longer *acknowledge* it: But in Case of an *Obligation*, both he who *returns* it *still* continues to *acknowledge* it, and he who *acknowledges* it, does not thereby *pay* it."

"ledges it, thereby sufficiently returns it". But now those, on the contrary, who value themselves upon their Riches, Honours, and flourishing Condition, will scorn to acknowledge they are obliged for any Kindness; nay, will think they vouchsafe you a signal Favour, even whilst you are doing them some considerable Service; and will always be jealous and suspicious over you, as tho' you demanded and expected something from them: But to have it ever said they were defended by you, or to be numbered among your Dependants or Clients, is as unsupportable to them as even Death itself. Whereas your *mean Person*, when any one does him a friendly Office, considers it was done out of respect to himself, and not out of Regard to his Fortune or Condition; and endeavours to shew himself sensible of the Obligation, not to him only who has done him the Kindness, but (as standing in need of some other Mens Assistance) to those others also, from whom he hopes for the like. And if he should chance to do another any Service, he does not endeavour to cry up and magnifie it, but rather to lessen it as much as he is able. Another thing worth the considering is this, That if you defend one that is wealthy and powerful, the Obligation remains in the Person himself, or perhaps just his Children; but if you protect one that is needy and forsaken, provided withal he be virtuous and modest, all the lower sort of People immediately, that are not wicked (which is no inconsiderable part of the Multitude) will look upon you as their Safeguard and Protection. Upon all which Accounts I am wholly of Opinion, That a Kindness is better bestowed upon an *honest*, than it is upon a *wealthy and fortunate* Person. We should endeavour, it is true, to the utmost of our Power, to be serviceable to all Men of whatsoever Condition: But if there should happen a Competition between them, I am clearly for following THEMISTOCLES'S Advice, who being once asked, *How he would marry his Daughter, whether to one that was Poor, but Honest; or to one that was Rich, but of an ill Reputation?* made Answer, *I had rather have a Man without an Estate, than have an Estate without a Man.* But the mighty Respect,

spect, which is paid to Riches, has wholly depraved and corrupted our Manners. And yet what does it signifie to any one of us, that such or such a Person has got a plentiful Fortune? Perhaps it may be useful to him that has it; tho' not *so* neither always: But allowing it to be so; suppose he has got the World more at his Command; yet how (I would fain know) is he ever the honestest for it? But and if a Man be Honest, as well a Wealthy, tho' I would not have him helped for the sake of his Riches, yet I would not have him hindred upon their Account neither: But in every case have it fairly considered, not how Wealthy and Great, but how Good and Deserving a Person he is. I shall conclude this Head with only one Rule more, which is, Never, for the sake of doing any one a Kindness, to venture upon that which is unjust in itself, or injurious to a third Person. For no Credit can be solid and durable, unless built upon the Foundations of Justice and Honesty; without which nothing can be Virtuous or Commendable.

C H A P. XXI.

Two sorts of that Bounty which relates to the Publick.

Nothing to be done for the sake of the Members in particular, which may any ways damage the Publick in general. The first Duty of the Governours of a State, to secure each Particular in the Possession of his own. Levelling all Estates very destructive. Why Men first built Cities. Not to burden the People with Taxes, a second Duty. A Third, To furnish the People with Necessaries. Covetousness in a Governour pernicious to any State. The unhappy Effects of it in the Roman Empire.

HAVING thus discoursed of the one sort of Kindnesses, which are done to *particular Members* of the City; we are now in the next place to speak of those others, which are done to *them all*, and to the Common-wealth in general. Now these again are of two

sorts, The one more immediately relating to the Community; the other reaching down to each Member in particular; which latter of the two is more grateful and acceptable. We should shew our Beneficence, as far as we are able, in both these Ways; but especially in this latter, which relates to each one of the particular Members: In which however one Caution must be observed, That nothing be done in behalf of Particulars, but that which is useful, or at least not prejudicial, to the Common-wealth in general. C. GRACCHUS, for Instance, made a large Distribution of Corn to the People; and the Effect of it was, that the Treasury was exhausted by it, MARCUS OCTAVIUS made one that was moderate, which was a Kindness to the Multitude, and no ways a Burden or Grievance to the State; and accordingly both the Publick, and all the Members of the City, received Benefit from it. But the principal thing for a Governour to take care of, is, *That* each Individual be kept in the quiet Possession of his own, and *That* private Men be not dispossessed of what they have, under a Pretence of taking Care of the Publick. For nothing is more destructive to the Peace of any Nation, than to bring in a new Distribution of Estates, which was attempted by PHILIP, in the Time of his Tribuneship: However, he quickly gave over his Design, and did not persist stubbornly in Defence of it, as soon as he found it was so vigorously opposed: But in his publick Speeches and Harangues to the People, among a great many things to obtain their Favour, he was heard to say one of very dangerous Consequence, That the whole City had not Two Thousand Men in it, that were Masters of Estates: A very pernicious and desperate Saying, directly tending to bring all things to a Level; which is the greatest Misfortune that can befall any People. For to what end were Cities and Common-wealths established, but only that every one might be safer and securer, in the Enjoyment of his own? For tho' Men by Nature are sociable Creatures, yet it was the Design of Preserving what they had, that first put them upon building Cities for a Refuge. It is a *Second Duty of the Governours*

nours of a State, to see that the People be not forced to pay Taxes; as they often were in our Fore-fathers time, partly because they were always in War, and partly by reason of the Lowness of the Treasury. This is an Inconvenience, which ought, as far as possible, to be provided against before-hand: But if *any State* should be under such Circumstances, as that it must be forced to make use of this Expedient; (I say *any State*, because I am unwilling to suppose so unhappy a thing of *our own*; beside that I speak here of all of them in general) but if, I say, any State should be brought to such a Pinch, due Care must be taken to let the People know, That it is absolutely necessary, as Affairs now stand, and that otherwise they must needs be inevitably ruined. Again, It is yet further required of those Men, who Govern and Preside in a Common-wealth, to see that it be furnished with all the Conveniencies and Necessaries of Life. To tell what *these* are, and how to be provided, would be altogether needless in this place, since it is sufficiently known already; I only thought fit just to touch upon it by the *Bye*. But in all kinds of Business, and managing Affairs of a publick Nature, there is nothing more necessary, than always to keep one's self clear and untainted, so as not to lye under the least *Suspicion of Avarice*. I could heartily wish, (said CAIUS PONTIUS the *Samnite*) that Fortune had reserved me to those Times, and that it had been my Fate to be then born, whenever the *Romans* shall begin to take Bribes; I should quickly have put an end to their flourishing Empire. Truly he must have waited a pretty many Ages; for that is a kind of Evil, which but lately has begun to infest this Republick. If PONTIUS therefore were so great a Man as he pretended to be, I am very well satisfied with his being born when he was; and not in those Times, which have lately happened. It is not yet an Hundred and Ten Years ago, since LUCIUS PISO got a Law to be enacted against the Corruption of Magistrates, whereas there had never been any one before. But since that Time there have been so many Laws, and still every new one more severe

than the former; so many Persons accused and condemned; such a War stirred up in the Bowels of *Italy*, by those who were afraid of being brought to Punishment; such shameful Extortion and Pillaging our Allies, by those who have defied all Laws and Courts of Justice; that we were rather beholden to the Weakness of others, than our own Strength or Virtues, that we are not utterly ruined.

C H A P. XXII.

Examples of Contempt of Money among the ancient Romans. The Danger, &c. of the opposite Vice. The Honour gotten by this Virtue. The Danger, Folly, &c. of the Project of Levelling Estates.

PANÆTIUS highly commends AFRICANUS, for his being uncorrupt as to the matter of Money. It is a Virtue that well deserved his Commendation: but I think there were others in that great Person, which deserved it much more: to be untainted with Money being not so properly a Virtue of that Man, as of those Times in general. PAULUS ÆMILIUS had all the Wealth of *Macedonia* in his Power, which amounted to almost an infinite Value: so that he brought such a Sum into the Treasury, as that the single Booty of that one General superseded the Necessity of all Taxes for the future: And yet he brought nothing into his own House, but the eternal Memory of his Name and Achievements. AFRICANUS followed the Example of his Father, and returned nothing richer from the Overthrow of *Carthage*. So MUMMIUS, who was afterwards his Partner in the Censorship; did he make himself ever a Farthing the Wealthier, by razing one of the wealthiest Cities in the World? No, he rather chose to make *Italy* fine with the Spoils of his Enemies, than his own House; tho' in my Opinion the Fineness of *Italy* reflects a bright Lustre upon his own House too. There is no Vice then (that I may return to the Subject from

from which I have digressed) more detestable than Avarice; more especially in Great Men, and such as bear Sway in the Government of a State: For it is not only *mean* for a Man to make a Prey and Advantage of the Common-wealth, but even impious and abominable. That Oracle therefore of the *Pythian* APOLLO's, *That nothing but Avarice should be the Ruin of Sparta*, doth not seem designed for the *Lacedemonians* only, but for every wealthy and flourishing Nation. And as Avarice is thus very destructive to a State; so to appear Upright and Regardless of Money, is the certainest Method those in Power can make use of; for procuring the Love and Good-liking of the *People*. But those, who designing to curry *their* Favour, attempt new Laws about the levelling Estates, so as to force the right Owners from their lawful Possessions; or propose to make Creditors remit all the Debts, which in Justice are due to them; plainly undermine the two principal Pillars and Supports of the Government: In the *first* place, Concord and Unity amongst the Citizens, which can never be kept up, whilst some are deprived of what is justly their Due, and others discharged from the necessity of Payment: *Secondly*, Justice, which immediately must sink into Ruins and Nothing, if Men cannot be secured in the Possession of what is their own: For *that* (as we before remarked) is the chief End and Aim of Mens gathering into Societies, and building of Cities, that each one might freely enjoy what is his Right, without any Danger or Fear of being deprived of it. Beside this, the Authors of these pernicious Designs, never get that Good-Will, which they propose, from their Citizens: For, as for those Men, who are *Losers* by such a Method, it is certain that they will be their Enemies for it; and those, who are *Gainers*, will be sure to pretend that they never desired it; especially in the Business of having Debts forgiven; *there* every one dissembles how glad he is of it, for fear it should be thought that he was not able to pay them. But those Men, to whom such Designs are prejudicial, will hardly forget them, but shew a perpetual Grudge and Resentment. And tho' the

Number of these, who are thus wickedly befriended, be greater than of those who are injuriously robbed; yet it doth not follow, that therefore they are more powerful; for it is not the Number, but the Quality of the Persons that must carry it in this Case. Besides, what Reason or Equity is there, when Estates have been held for a great many Years, or perhaps Ages, that the rightful Owners should be thrust out from them, and others, that never had any, should come and possess them?

CHAP. XXIII.

Several Examples of the unhappy Effects of taking away Mens Estates, in order to bring Things to a Level. The wise Conduct of Aratus the Sicyonian in doing the contrary. What a Magistrate's Duty in such Cases is.

FOR such kind of partial, injurious Proceedings the *Spartans* once banished LYSANDER, one of their Ephori; and put to Death AGIS their King, for the same Reason; an Action unheard of before in that City. This was succeeded by such grievous Contentions and Discords in the State, as that Tyranny and Oppression got the upper-hand amongst them; the Nobles were banished from their Native Country, and the best constituted Republick upon the Face of the Earth, was utterly dissolved, and brought into Confusion. Nor did this Mischief end with the *Spartans* only, but, like a Contagion, spreading it self further, involved all *Greece* in the same Miseries and Calamities. Pray what was it ruined our own two GRACCHI, Sons of the famous TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, and Grandsons of AFRICANUS, but only these Controversies about levelling Estates? ARATUS the *Sicyonian* is deservedly commended as much on the other-hand: He, when his Country, for fifty Years together, had been greatly oppressed and over-run by Tyrants, went secretly one Night from *Argos* to *Sicyon*, and made himself Master of the City by Surprize; and unexpectedly falling upon NICO-
CLES,

CLES, the then Tyrant, he put him to Flight. This being done, he recalled Six Hundred of the wealthiest Citizens, who had all been formerly banished by the Tyrants, and by this his Arrival, delivered the City from Slavery and Oppression. But he afterwards found it would be a great deal of Trouble to settle the Business of their Estates and Possessions; for he thought on the one hand it was very unreasonable, that those Men, whom he had restored, should want, whilst others enjoyed what in Equity was theirs: And yet it seemed hard upon the other Side, that Men should be thrust out of those Possessions, which now they had held for these fifty Years: If more especially it were withal considered, That it could not but happen in so long a Time, that they must have gone, a great Part of them, from one to another, either by Inheritance, Purchase, Dowry, or the like; and therefore were possessed by the *present Incumbents*, without their having injured the rightful Proprietors. Upon these Considerations he judged it necessary, both to bear with the *latter* in the Enjoyment of what they had, and yet to satisfy the *former*, whom it justly belonged to. And finding a large Sum of Money was requisite to settle this Business as it ought to be, he told them he had Occasion to go to *Alexandria*, and ordered they should not concern themselves about it till his Return. He goes accordingly with all possible Speed to his old Friend PROLOMY, who at that Time was reigning in *Alexandria*, being the second King after the Founding of that City. Having told him his Design of settling Liberty in his Country, and the Reasons that put him upon undertaking that Voyage, he quickly obtained of that wealthy Prince to supply him with a Quantity of Money for his Assistance. With this he immediately returns to *Sicyon*, and chusing out fifteen of the principal Citizens, to help him with their Counsel upon this Occasion; he heard both the Causes of those who possessed what had belonged to others, and of those who had lost what had been formerly their own. At last he so managed the whole Business, as that, the Estates being set at their true Values, *some* were per-

swaded to part with what they had, and take an Equivalent in Money for it; and *others* to neglect the Recovery of their own, and rest themselves content with being paid its full Value. By this means the Controversy was fairly determined, and all went home satisfied without grudging or complaining. Here was a great and extraordinary Man now! Here was one that deserved to have been born in our Republick! This is the true Way of dealing with Citizens; and not (as hath been practised amongst us twice) to make Sale of their Goods in the publick Markets, and have them cried by the Voice of the common Cryer. But this famous *Grecian* (as was the Duty of a wise and extraordinary Person) thought it became him to provide alike for all: And indeed every Magistrate, who proceeds upon Principles of Reason and Prudence, will always take care not to make any Difference between the Interests of his People; but will govern them all by the same Rule and Standard of Justice and Equity. Here is one Man shall dwell in what belongs to another: What *Reason* is there, I beseech you, for this; that when I have bought, built, repaired, and laid out a great deal of Money, another should come and enjoy all the Fruits, of it, in spite of my Teeth? Is not this plainly to take away from one that which justly belongs to him, and give to another what he has nothing of Right to? As for the Project of forgiving Debts, I can see no Reason in the World for it, unless it be Reason, that another should buy Land with my Money, and that he should have the Land, but I never have my Money.

C H A P. XXIV.

Care should be taken to prevent Peoples running too much into Debt. Faith the Cement of publick Society. Cicero's Conduct in his Consulship about the Matter of Debts. The Duties of a good Magistrate. How one's Health and Estate are to be taken Care of.

CARE ought therefore to be taken beforehand which it is easy to do by a great many Ways) to keep People from running so much into Debt, as
may

may bring any Damage or Inconvenience to the Publick: And not, *when they are in*, to make the Creditors lose what is their own, and let the Debtors gain what in Justice is another's: For nothing so cements and holds together in Union all the Parts of a Society, as Faith or Credit; which can never be kept up, unless Men are under some Force and Necessity of honestly paying what they owe to one another. This Design of having Debtors excused from Payment, was never attempted with greater Eagerness, than whilst I was Consul: Men of all Ranks and Degrees in the State took up Arms and formed Camps for the bringing it about; whose Endeavours I resisted with so much Vigour, as that the Republick was quickly delivered from so pernicious an Evil. There never were known greater Debts in the City, nor ever more easily and faithfully paid: And pray what was the Reason of all this? Why, because when their Hopes of defrauding were cut off, they found themselves under a Necessity of Payment. It is true, there is one, who has since been a Conqueror, (tho' then he was conquered by my Vigilance) that has found out Means to effect these Designs, at a Time when they would bring *him* no manner of Advantage; but such an Inclination had that Man to Villany, that the bare doing of it was a Pleasure to him, without any other Invitation in the World. The Sum then of what has been said is this, That such a design for the Good of the Republick, *must* be sure to avoid *this* sort of Liberality, which takes away from one what it gives to another; and *must* consequently make it their principal Care to uphold each Member in his proper Rights, according to the Principles of Justice and Equity; so as neither to suffer the *poorer* sort of People to be wronged or oppressed, by reason of their Poverty; nor the *richer* to be hindered from keeping or demanding what is justly their own, by the Envy of the others: And, in fine, *must* apply their most earnest Endeavours, whether in War or Peace, to encrease the Power, and enlarge the Bounds and Revenues of the Republick. These are the Duties and Exercises of great Men: These are the things which were practised

Gifted by our Ancestors; and whoever goes on to perform the same, will not only bring great Advantage to the Republick, but gain a mighty Interest and Reputation to himself. In these Rules of Duty relating to Things profitable, ANTIPATER the *Tyrian*, a *Stoick* Philosopher, who lately died at *Athens*, thinks, that two things have been omitted by PANÆTIUS: *First*, The Care of getting or preserving ones Health: And, *Secondly*, Of an Estate. I believe that great Philosopher might omit them on purpose, because they are so easy and obvious to every one: However, it is certain they are both of them profitable. Now *Health* is preserved by considering the peculiar Temper of one's Body, and observing what agrees, or does not agree with it; by Temperance and Moderation in Meats and Drinks, and other Things relating to the Welfare of the Body; by Forbearance and Abstinence as to the matter of Pleasures; and, lastly, by the Skill of Physicians, and the like. An *Estate* should be gotten by nothing that is any ways scandalous or dishonest; preserved by Diligence and prudent Management; and, lastly, by the same means bettered and augmented. But this whole Subject is excellently handled by XENOPHON the *Socratick*, in his Book of *Oeconomicks*; which I formerly translated from the *Greek* into *Latin*, when much about as old as you are at present.

CHAP. XXV.

The Comparing of Things profitable one with another. An Answer of Cato's upon this Head. Who are best able to teach how to get Estates.

THE fourth chief Head we proposed to speak of, was the *Comparing Things profitable one with another*; which is oftentimes necessary, however neglected or forgotten by PANÆTIUS. For we use to compare either the Goods of the Body with those of Fortune; or these back again with those of the Body; or, lastly, those

those both of *the one* and *the other* amongst themselves. *First*, The Goods of the Body are compared with those of Fortune, as, *It is more eligible, suppose, to be Healthy than Rich.* *Secondly*, These back again with those of the Body, as, *it is better to be Rich, than of a robust Constitution.* *Thirdly*, Those of the Body with one another, as, *Health is preferable to Pleasure; or Strength to Activity.* And, *Lastly*, Those of Fortune with one another, as if *Glory should be preferred before Riches, or an Estate in the City, before another in the Country.* To this latter sort of Comparing may be referred that Answer of the *Senior CATO's*, who being once asked, What he conceived most profitable in the Management of an Estate? said, *To feed Cattle well.* And what the second? *To feed Cattle pretty well.* And what the third? *To feed Cattle, though but ill.* And what the fourth? *To till the Ground.* And, then the Enquirer proceeding still to ask, *Pray what do you think of letting Money out to Usury?* *Pray what do I think,* replies *CATO, of killing a Man?* From what has been said, and a great deal more, that might easily be added, it is sufficiently manifest, That Profits are often compared with one another; and that we had Reason sufficient on our Side, in making *this* a fourth Head for the finding out our Duty. But as for the Business of getting an Estate, and placing our Money to the best Advantage, and I wish I might add of applying it to the best Uses, there are certain honest Men who attend at the *Exchange*, that can better inform you than any of the Philosophers that dispute in the Schools. It is worth while however to know these Things, because they relate to the Business of *Profit*, which has made up the Subject of all this Book. Let us now pass on to what remains behind.

The End of the Second Book.

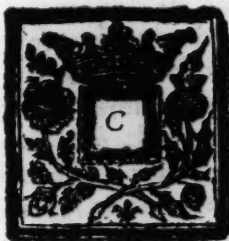


TULLY'S OFFICES.

The THIRD Book.

CHAP. I.

An excellent Saying of the Elder Scipio Africanus. Cicero betakes himself to a Life of Liesure and Retirement, the Republick being quite ruined. The Difference between his Retirement and Africanus's. Some Good to be drawn out of Evils.



ATO, Son MARK, who was near of the same Age with PUBLIUS SCIPIO, the first that had the Sirname of AFRICANUS given him, tells us it was an usual Saying of his, *That he never was less idle, than when he was idle; nor ever less alone, than when he was alone.*

A noble and excellent Sentence indeed, and worthy of so great and wise a Person; by which it appears, that in the midst of Leisure he could think of Business, and was used when alone to converse with

with his own Thoughts: So that he never was properly idle, and needed no Company to entertain him in his Solitude. The two things therefore, which bring a kind of Dullness and Heaviness upon others, served but to sharpen and invigorate his Mind, viz. Solitude and Leisure. I wish I could truly say the same of my self! But tho' I am not able to arrive at that inimitable Temper of Soul, I desire at least to come as near it as is possible; and being excluded by open Violence and impious Arms, from having ought to do with Affairs of the Senate, or Business of the Bar, I wholly betake myself to a Life of Retirement; and for that very Reason have abandoned the City, and am often alone, only going from one Seat to another in the Country. But alas! my Leisure is not to be compared with that of AFRICANUS, nor my Solitude with his Solitude! For he was employed at that very Time in Places of the greatest Reputation in the Publick; and his *Leisure* was only a voluntary Retirement, to give himself Respite from Business for a Season; and his *Solitude* only a kind of Port or Haven, into which he withdrew himself from the Disturbances of Company. Whereas my Leisure proceeds not from any Desire of Respite, but from a Want of Business to employ my self about; for what proper Work can I find to do, when there is no more a Senate, nor any Courts of Justice remaining entire, in which I might honourably shew my self? Therefore, whereas it was my former Custom to appear much in Publick, and in the Eye of my Citizens; I now on the contrary hide my self from them, to avoid the very Sight of such Packs of Villains as are every where abroad: and as much as is possible confine my self to Solitude. But since this is given us for a Rule by the Learned, *That when several Evils are threatening us at once we should not only chuse to undergo the least, but extract some Advantage out of them if it be possible*: I therefore in the midst of all these present Mistortunes, gain the small Advantage of Quiet and Retirement, (tho' not such a Quiet as he might have expected, whose Wisdom had formerly procured the Peace of the Publick) and endeavour not wholly to languish out that Solitude, which

which not Choice, but Necessity, has laid upon me Though AFRICANUS indeed, I my self must confess, has got much greater Glory by his Solitude and Retirement: For none of his Thoughts are committed to Writing, nor any Monuments remain of what he did in his Leisure, and when he was alone; whereby we are given to understand, That he never was idle, nor ever properly alone; because he was always employed in Meditation, and his Mind was busy in searching out those Things which by Thinking he made himself Master of. But I, who have not got such a Strength of Genius as to be content when alone with the Company of my bare Thoughts, am forced to apply all my Studies and Endeavour to the Drudgery of Writing: I have written more therefore within a very short time, since the Ruin of the State, than I did for some Years, while it was in its flourishing Condition.

CHAP II.

The Subject of Duties the most useful Part of all Philosophy.

An Exhortation to his Son to be diligent in his Studies.

The Subject of this Third Book Panetius neglected to treat of it, tho' he did at first design it. A Saying of Rutilius Rufus.

NOW though all Philosophy (my Dear CICERO) be a rich, as it were, and a plentiful Soil, which has not any part of it waste and uncultivate; yet there is no part that is more fruitful in it, or from which more Advantage accrues to the Husbandman, than that which is employed about *Offices* or *Duties*; from whence those Precepts and Directions are drawn, which lead toward a steady and virtuous Way of Living. Wherefore, though I doubt not but that CRATIPPUS, the greatest Philosopher of our Age, is daily inculcating these things to you, and you are receiving them with that Attention they deserve; yet I have thought it not wholly unnecessary myself, to remind you of so important

tant a Matter; and could wish that your Ears might continually ring, as it were, with such Precepts, and not hear (as far as possible) any thing else. And as this is a Method which is useful for all Men, who design to lead virtuous and creditable Lives; so for no one living, perhaps, more than yourself. For consider you are the Son of an industrious Father, one who has born the greatest Honours in the Republick, and has gotten himself some Credit and Reputation in the World; People therefore will expect that you should follow my Steps, and it is your Part to see that you answer their Expectation. Beside, it is no small thing you have taken upon you, by being at *Athens*, and under the Great CRATIPPUS; whether since you are gone, as it were to a Stable and Mart of good Literature, it will be scandalous for you to return again empty, and bring a Reproach both upon the Place and your Master. Wherefore, dear Son, be Industrious and Diligent, and spare no manner of Pains and Labour (if I may call it a *Labour*, and not rather a *Pleasure*, to Study and Learn) that you may make a good Use of these Advantages before you; and when all things are thus plentifully supplied on my part, let it never be said, That you yourself are wanting to your own greatest Interest. But I shall say no more upon this at present, having heretofore written again and again to you, by way of Exhortation. Let us now proceed to the fifth and last Part of our proposed Division. PANÆTIUS then, who without all Controversie has written most accurately upon the Subject of *Duties*, and whom in this Work, with a little Alteration, I have hitherto followed, lays down (as was said) three general Heads, which Men use in Consulting or Deliberating concerning their Duty: In the *first* it is questioned, *Whether the Action they are going about be Honest or Dishonest*. In the *second*, *Whether it be Profitable or Unprofitable*. In the *third*, *How a good Man ought to determine the Case, if that which seems Honest should come into Competition with that which seems Profitable*. Of the two former Heads he has given us an Account in his three first Books, and therein has promised to go on with the third of them; but has failed,

ed, it should seem, of being so good as his Word. Which I wonder at the more upon this account, because we are told by his Scholar POSSIDONIUS, That he lived thirty Years after those Books were published. And I cannot but admire at the same POSSIDONIUS, that having an occasion, in some of his Writings, to discourse upon this Argument, he should do no more than just touch upon it in short; especially seeing he himself has observed, That in all Philosophy there is no one Subject more necessary and important. Some indeed think, whom I cannot agree with, that PANÆTIUS did not *forget* this Part, but *omitted* it on purpose; and that in plain Truth, it ought to be omitted, since Profit can never be *really* contrary to Honesty. Whether it ought to be omitted or not, may perhaps be a Question; but whether PANÆTIUS first designed it or no, and yet afterwards neglected it, I think can be none: For a Writer certainly, that proposes three Heads, and goes through with but two of them, must needs design to discourse upon the third; nay he tells us himself in the Close of his third Book, that he would afterwards proceed to this remaining Part. Beside, we have the Authority of POSSIDONIUS to vouch it, who in one of his Letters has given us a Saying of RUTILIUS RUFUS, who was Scholar to PANÆTIUS as well as himself; *That as never any Painter had been yet so bold, as to venture upon finishing that Piece of VENUS, which APELLES left imperfect at the Island COS; (the Beauty of the Face making all Men despair, ever to paint a Body that should be answerable to it) so the Excellency of that which PANÆTIUS had writ upon this Subject, made others afraid of attempting to add that which he had omitted.*

CHAP. III.

Whether Panætius did well in making this third Head. Reasons why he did not. The Danger of separating Profit from Honesty. What the Stoicks mean by Living according to Nature. Two sorts of Virtue, the Perfect and Ordinary. The former belongs to the Wise only; the latter is common to all. The most perfect Virtue (as it is counted by the Multitude) is really imperfect.

THAT PANÆTIUS therefore did think he was obliged to Discourse upon this Part, is beyond all Question: But whether he was mistaken in his Judgment or not, when he laid down this Head, as the *third of deliberating for the finding out our Duty*, may perhaps be disputed. For whether, according to the Opinion of the *Stoicks*, we take *Virtue* or *Honesty* to be the *only Good*; or, according to that of your *Peripatetic's*, acknowledge it so to be the *chiefest Good*, as that all things else are just nothing against it; it is certain, upon either of these Suppositions, That Profit cannot be put in the Balance against Honesty. We are therefore told, That *SOCRATES* used even to *curse* those People, who disjoined these things in Thought and Conception, which are one and the same in Nature and Reality. And the *Stoicks* are so far of his Opinion, as constantly to maintain, That whatever is Honest must be also Profitable, and whatever is Profitable must be also Honest. It is true, had PANÆTIUS been one of those, who assert that Virtue is therefore only desirable, because it brings something of Profit along with it; like some, who think nothing any further worth seeking for, than as it begets Pleasure, or Exemption from Pain; we could then have allowed him the liberty of saying, That Profit is sometimes repugnant to Honesty. But seeing he was once of a different Sect, and thinks *nothing* to be *Good* except that which is *Honest*; and avows, that whatever is contrary to *Honesty*, and appears to us under the Notion of

Profit,

Profit, can neither, if we have it, make Life ever the better; nor, if we have it not, ever the worse; he should not, methinks, have brought in such a Deliberation, wherein that, which seems Profitable, comes into Competition with that, which is Honest. For that, which the *Stoicks* call their *Sovereign Good* [to live in Conformity with the Dictates of Nature] means, I suppose, no more than this, That we should always live agreeably to the Rules of Virtue; and should use other things, which are suited and adapted to our natural Inclinations, no further than Virtue permits and allows them. Now this being so, there are several of opinion, That this general Head, wherein Profit and Honesty are compared with one another, was improperly brought in; and that there ought not to have been given any Rules or Directions upon this Subject. Now your *Perfect Honesty*, which is truly and properly called by that Name, is only to be found in your *perfectly Wise Men*, and can never be possibly separated from Virtue: But those Men, who have not this perfect Wisdom, must by no means pretend to such a Perfect Honesty, though they may have some Shadows and Resemblances of it. For all *those Duties*, of which we are treating in these Books, have the name of *Middle ones* given them by the *Stoicks*, which are common indifferently to all Men in general, and are not confined to any particular number of them. But several get them, either by the peculiar Happiness of their Natures, or by a constant Progress in Study and Learning. Whereas *those others*, which they call *Right ones*, are perfect and consummate, or (as they themselves express it) *have all their Numbers*, which none can attain to, but the *perfectly Wise*. It is true, that the Vulgar, as soon as they see any Action of such a Nature, as indeed is no more than a *middle* kind of Duty, are immediately thinking it a *Perfect* and *Compleat* one: For the common sort of People cannot tell what is Perfect, and by consequence do not know how much any Virtue or Excellency comes short of it: But finding it answer the highest of their Conceptions, they imagine it wants nothing of being as perfect as can be.

be. Just as it happens in judging of Poems or Pieces of Painting, and other such like; those who are not Judges, are generally pleased with and praise those things, which by no means deserve any Praise or Commendation: Because, I suppose, there may be something that is Good in them, which serves well enough to take with those that are ignorant, and who have not so much Skill as to be able to discover their several Imperfections: And therefore, when they are instructed by those who understand it better, they are brought without Difficulty to forsake their Opinions.

C H A P. IV.

The greatest Men that have been in the World, were not perfectly Wise. Profit ought not to be compared with the Middle, any more than with the perfect Honesty. How Men come to compare them together, or to doubt upon this Subject. This illustrated by an Example. One certain Rule necessary for our Guidance in this Case. The Doctrine of the Stoicks preferable to that of the Peripateticks.

THose Duties therefore, which make up the Subject of this Enquiry, by the *Stoicks* are counted a kind of *second-rate Honesty*, which is not confined to their Wise Men only, but is common and open to all Mankind: and therefore all those who have any kind of Sense or Inclination for Virtue, are very sensibly touched and affected with it. For you are not to imagine, when we call the two DECII's or SCIPIO's *Magnanimous*, and give FABRICUS and ARISTIDES the Appellation of *Just*, that we set them for Patterns of such Justice and Magnanimity, as we suppose to be in those who are perfectly Wise. For they were none of them *Wise* in that exalted Sense, which we would here be understood to mean by *that Word*. Nay those who were counted and surnamed the *Wise*, such as CARO, for Instance, and LÆLIUS, and particularly

particularly the famous Seven; yet in Truth and Reality were not such: but by frequently practising that *middle* sort of Duties, had gotten a sort of Shew and Resemblance of *true Wisdom*. As no Profit therefore ought ever to be put in opposition to that, which is *truly and perfectly* Virtuous and Honest; so neither should any Interest, or Convenience of Life, be set up against that, which is *ordinarily* called so, and which is followed by those, who desire to be counted Men of Honesty and Integrity: And *we* should be as careful to live up to that Honesty, *whereof we are capable*; as the *perfectly Wise* are of keeping close to that, which is truly such, and may in strictness of Speech be called by that Name. For whatever Attainments we have made in Virtue, they will never stand us in any mighty stead, if we be not thus careful of holding constantly to our Duty. — What has hitherto been said can be applied to those only, who make Goodness consist in living according to their Duty: But those Men, who measure the Goodness of things by some *Profit* or *Advantage*, which they bring along with them, and who let *these* prevail with them above Virtue and Honesty; frequently in deliberating, use to put that, which they take to be Profitable, into the Balance against Justice and Honesty; but good and wise Men never offer to do it. I am therefore of opinion, when PANÆTIUS tells us, *That Men use to deliberate, in considering which of these two they should chuse*; that he meant no more than what his Words strictly signifie, *viz.* That they *use* to do this, and not that really they *ought* to do it. For it is infinitely scandalous, not only to prefer a pretended Advantage before Duty and Conscience; but so much as to bring them to the Contest and Competition, and to *doubt* whether the one of them should be chosen before the other. If this be so, you will be ready to ask me, *How then comes there to be any Doubt at all? And what is it that requires Consideration upon this Subject?* I suppose it is this, That it sometimes happens Men are not so very certain, *Whether the Action deliberated upon be Honest, or not Honest*: For that which is usually counted a piece of Villany, is frequently changed

ed by the Times or Circumstances, and is found to be the contrary. To lay down one Instance, which may serve to give some Light to a great many others: Pray what greater Wickedness can there be upon Earth (if we speak in general) than for any one to murder, not only a Man, but a familiar Friend? And shall we therefore affirm that he is chargeable with a Crime, who has murdered a Tyrant, though he were his Familiar? The People of Rome I am sure will not say so, by whom this is counted among the greatest and most glorious Actions in the World. You will say then, *Does not Interest here carry it against Honesty?* No, but rather Honesty voluntarily follows Interest. If therefore we would, upon all Emergencies, be sure to determine our selves aright, when that which we call our Advantage or Interest, seems to be repugnant to that which is Honest; we must lay down some general Rule or Measure, which if we will make use of in judging about things, we shall never be mistaken as to point of Duty. Now this *Measure* I would have to be conformable to the Doctrine and Principles of the *Stoicks*, which I principally follow throughout this Work. For though I confess that the ancient *Academicks*, and your *Peripateticks*, which were formerly the same, make Honesty far preferable to that which seems one's Interest: yet those who assert, *That whatever is Honest must be also Profitable*, and *Nothing is Profitable but what is Honest*, talk much more bravely and heroically upon this Subject, than those who allow, *That there are some things Honest, which are not Profitable; and some things Profitable, which are not Honest.* And we have very great Liberty given us by our *Academy*, to as never to be tied up to such and such Teners, but are left free to defend what we think most probable.

C H A P. V.

The Rule or Measure mentioned in the former Chapter. The ill Effects of Mens injuring others for their own Advantage. Every one allowed to take Care of himself in the first Place; but not so as to injure any other, tho' to save his own Life. Two Errors, that occasion Mens acting contrarywise, and the Absurdity of them.

BUT to return to our General Rule or Measure: There is nothing upon Earth then so contrary to Nature, neither Death, nor Poverty, nor Pain, nor whatever other Evil can befall a Man either in his Body or Fortune, as to take away any thing wrongfully from another, and do one's self a Kindness by injuring one's Neighbour. For, in the first place, it ruins all manner of Society and Intercourse amongst Men; since it is plain, that if once Men arrive at such a pass, as to plunder and injure the rest of their Neighbours, out of Hopes to procure some Advantage to themselves, there must follow of course a Dissolution of that Society, which of all things in the World is most agreeable to Nature. Should we suppose, for Example, that the bodily Members had every one of them gotten an Opinion, that to draw to itself all the Vigour of its Neighbours, would very much serve to encrease its own; it is certain the whole Body must decay and perish: And just so, should every one amongst us deprive other People of their Profits and Advantages, and take away all he could get from them, with design of applying it only to his own Use; the general Society and Fellowship of Mankind must of necessity be broken. For though it is no more than what Nature will allow of, That each Man should look after himself in the first place, and furnish himself with the Necessaries of Life, before he takes care to provide for other People, yet the same Nature will by no means permit, that any one should rise by his thrusting down another, and encrease his own Fortune by the Spoils of his Neighbours. And not only Nature, that is the universal Law or Con-

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sent

sent of Nations, but particular Laws, by which several Countries and Common-wealths are governed, have commanded likewise, *That no one be suffered to do an Injury to another, for the sake of procuring any Advantage to himself.* For the very Design and End of Laws, is to keep up Agreement and Union amongst Citizens; which whoever destroys, is by them punished, not with the loss of his Goods alone, but with Prisons, Banishment, or even Death it self. But Nature and Right Reason, as being at once both an Human and Divine Law too, command this Duty with much greater Authority; and whoever obeys them (as all Men must, who propose to live according to the Rules of Nature) will never be guilty of coveting what is anothers, or applying to his own Use what had first been injuriously taken from his Neighbour. For certainly Greatness and Elevation of Soul; as also the Virtues of Courtesie, Justice and Liberality, are much more agreeable to Nature and Right Reason, than Pleasure, than Riches, than even Life it self; to despise all which, and regard them as just nothing, when they come to be compared with the Publick Interest, is the Duty of a brave and exalted Spirit: whereas to rob another for one's own Advantage, is (as has been shewn) more contrary to Nature, than Death, than Pain, or any other Evil whatever of that kind. Again, Those Men live much more according to Nature, who suffer perpetual Troubles and Labours, for the Good and Preservation, were it possible, of all Men; (like HERCULES of old, whom Men, as a grateful Requitall for his Benefits, report to be placed among the number of the Gods) than those who consume all their Lives in Retirement, where they are not only free from Disturbances and Vexations, but are furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life; and have moreover the Advantages of Strength and Comeliness superadded to them. And accordingly we find it to be so in effect, that all the most great and extraordinary Geniuses, have preferred all the Troubles and Difficulties of the *former*, before the Quiet and Ease of this *latter* way of Living. From all which laid together, it unanswerably follows,

That

That whoever lives agreeably to the Dictates of Nature, can never be guilty of injuring another. In fine, He that injures another to do himself a Kindness, either thinks he does nothing that is contrary to Nature; or that the *doing an Injury* is a less Degree of Evil, than Death, or Poverty, or Pain, or loss of Children, Friends or Relations. If he thinks that in Wronging and Abusing of others, he doth not do any thing that is contrary to Nature; it is in vain to dispute any longer with such a one, who takes away from Man the distinguishing Part, and very Characteristick (as it were) of his Nature: But if he allows, that it is indeed an Evil, only thinks that some others, such as Poverty, Pain, or Death, may be worse; he is grossly mistaken in being of Opinion, That the Ills which touch nothing but the Body or Fortune, can be greater than thole which affect the Soul.

C H A P. VI.

The Interest of Particulars inseparable from that of the whole Community. The Rule of not Wronging another for our own Advantage, extends not only to Relations, or Fellow-Citizens, but to all Mankind. The breaking of it, ruins all Justice, Liberality, &c. Several Cases about it, put and resolved. Tyrants no Members of Human Society.

WE should all of us therefore propose the same End, and every one think his own Interest in particular, to be the same with that of the Community in general: which if each one endeavour to draw solely to himself, all Union and Agreement amongst Men will be dissolved. And if *Nature* enjoyn us, That every Man should desire and procure the Advantage of another, whoever he be, tho' for no other Reason than because he is a Man; it necessarily follows, That *all* Men are joined, by the self same Nature, in one common Interest: which if it be true, then all Men are subject to, and live equally under the *same* Law

of Nature : and if this be true too, then certainly they are forbid by that *same* Law of Nature, any Ways to injure or Wrong one another : But the first of these is undoubtedly certain, therefore the last must needs be so likewise. For as to what is usually said by some Men, That they would not take any thing away from a Father, or Brother, for their own Advantage ; but there is not the same Reason for their *ordinary* Citizens ; it is foolish and absurd : For they thrust themselves out from partaking of any Privileges, and from joining in common with the rest of their Citizens, for the Publick Good : An Opinion that strikes at the very Root and Foundation of all Civil Societies. Others there are, who are ready to confess, That they ought to bear such a Regard to Fellow-Citizens ; but by no means allow of it in relation to Strangers : Now these Men destroy that universal Society of all Mankind ; which if once taken away, *Kindness, Liberality, Justice and Humanity*, must utterly perish ; which excellent Virtues whoever makes void, is chargeable with Impiety towards the immortal Gods : For he breaks that Society, which they have established and settled amongst Men ; the closest Cement or Bond of which, is the being of Opinion, That for Men to Injure and Wrong one another for their private Interests, is an Evil that Nature is much more averse from, than all those which happen either to the *Body* or *Fortune* ; nay, and I might add to the *Mind* also, provided only they be not contrary to Justice ; for that one Virtue is as it were, a kind Mistress and Queen of all the rest. But what ? (perhaps some Men will be apt to say) if a Wise Man be ready to perish for Hunger, must not he take away Victuals from another ; though a perfectly useless and insignificant Fellow ? Not at all, for Life it self is not so dear to me, as a settled Resolution of doing no Wrong for my private Advantage. But suppose this good Man, almost dead with Cold, should have it in his Power to take PHALARIS's Cloaths away, one of the most savage and inhuman of Tyrants ; would not you have him to do it ? There is no great difficulty in determining such Cases : For it is certain, if you take away any thing from

from another, though never so uselets and insignificant a Creature, *for no other End but to Benefit your self by it*; it is an inhuman Action, and plainly contrary to the Laws of Nature: But if you are one, who by Living will do very great Service to the Republick, or perhaps to the Society of Mankind in general, and *for that only Reason take something from another*; it is an Action that is not to be found much fault with. But in all other Cases, every Man is bound to bear his own Misfortunes, rather than to get quit of them by Wronging his Neighbour. You will say then, Is it not more contrary to Nature, *To Covet or Seize what belongs to another, than to be in Sickneſs, or Want, or any ſuch Evil?* Yes; but *withal it is as contrary to Nature, to abandon all Care of the Publick Intereſt*; for it is a piece of Injuſtice: From whence it follows, That an *honeſt, prudent, and valiant* Perſon, whole Death would bring a great Diſadvantage to the Publick, may take from an idle and uſeleſs Citizen, ſuch things as are *neceſſary* for the Maintenance of Life, without any Offence againſt the Laws of Nature; which aim at the Preſervation and Intereſt of the Publick; *provided that* he do not make the Love of himſelf, and Conceit of his own more than ordinary Merits, an occaſion of Injuring and Oppreſſing others. For he will perform but the Duties which Juſtice requires of him, by thus taking care to be ſerviceable to the Publick, and upholding that (which I am often forced to mention) univerſal Society between all Mankind. As for the Queſtion propoſed about PHALARIS, it is eaſily answered: For Tyrants are not Members of Human Society, but rather its greateſt and moſt peſtilent Enemies; nor is it unnatural, if it lie in one's Power, *to rob that Man, whom it is even a Virtue and a Glory to murder.* And it were heartily to be wiſhed, That this whole deſtructive and impious Race, were utterly baniſhed and excluded from amongſt Men. Juſt as we cut off thoſe Members of the Body, which have got no longer either Blood or Spirits in them, and ſerve but to infect and corrupt the reſt; ſo ſhould thoſe Monſters, which under the Shape and Out-ſide of Men, conceal all the Savagenefs and Cruelty of Beaſts,

be cut off, as it were, and separated from the Body and Society of Mankind. Of much the same Nature are all those Questions, in which the Knowledge and Understanding of our Duty, depends upon the Knowledge of Times and Circumstances.

C H A P. VII.

Cicero will finish what Panætius left imperfect. All his Decisions taken from this Principle, That Honesty alone, or at least chiefly, is desireable for its own sake. The true Meaning of Panætius, in making Profit and Honesty be compared with one another.

I Believe then PANÆTIUS would have discoursed upon such things as these, but that some Accident, or perhaps other Business, put a stop to his Designs. However there are Precepts enough laid down in his former Books, to resolve all Scruples and Doubts, concerning them; from which we may learn, *What that is which is Wicked, and therefore to be avoided; and what that, which therefore is not to be avoided, because not at such Times, and in such Cases wicked.* But since I am going (as it were) to crown a Work, which was left imperfect by the Author of it, tho' wanting but little of being brought to Perfection; I shall follow the Method of the *Geometricians*: And as they do not use to demonstrate every thing, but demand to have some things allowed them before-hand, by the Help of which they more easily explain and demonstrate their Designs, so I demand of you, SON MARK, if you can, to grant me this following *Postulatum*, *That nothing is desireable for itself alone, but that which is Honest*: Or however, if CRATIPPUS will not permit you to do that; yet at least, I am sure, you must grant me this which follows, *That Honesty is desireable for its own sake above all things in the World*: Either of the two is sufficient for my Purpose, and the one is *probable* as well as the other, and nothing else beside them is so upon
this

this Subject. And here in the first place we must do right to PANÆTIUS; who does *not* say, (as indeed he ought not) That *that*, which is Profitable, could ever be contrary to that, which is Honest; but only *that*, which has the *Appearance* of such. And he often avows, That nothing is Profitable, but that which is Honest; and, That whatever is Honest is at the same time Profitable: and declares their Opinion, who first made a difference between those two, to be the greatest Evil that ever yet spread itself abroad amongst Men. Therefore when he speaks of a Contrariety between them, he means an *appearing*, and not a *real* one; which he therefore laid down for one of the Heads of his Discourse: not as tho' it were lawful for Men ever to give *Profit* the Preference before *Honesty*; but only that they might be able to determine themselves aright, if these two at any time should seem to interfere and be inconsistent with one another. This Part therefore, which he has omitted, I shall now supply; not with any borrowed Assistance from others, but purely (as we say) by my own Strength. For I never had any thing come to my Hands upon this Subject, that I could any ways approve of since the time of PANÆTIUS.

C H A P. VIII.

What we ought to do, when any thing presents itself under the Appearance of Profit. Proof that whatever is Profitable must also be Honest, and whatever is Honest must also be Profitable. The contrary Opinion the great Source of all Wickedness. Infamy a certain Punishment of Villany. It is a Wickedness even to deliberate whether Profit should be preferred before Honesty, or not. Nothing is to be done out of hopes of being concealed.

W Henever therefore any thing comes in our View, which carries the Appearance of *Profit* along with it, we cannot but immediately be somewhat affected with it: But if, upon taking a nearer View, we find

there is any thing Base and Dishonest, in that which appeared to be Profitable at first, it is our Duty to reject it: Which is not to deprive us of what is *really* profitable, but only to let us understand, That nothing Dishonest can possibly be such. Now if nothing be so *contrary* to Nature as Baseness, and nothing so *agreeable* to Nature as true Profit, (which is certainly so; for she always desires what is Right, and Becoming, and Consistent with itself, and abhors the contrary) then it necessarily follows, *That whatever is Profitable can never have any Baseness, or Dishonesty annexed to it.* Again, if we were born for Virtue or Honesty, and this be the *only* desirable Good; (as ZENO would have it, or at least *so much more* so, than every thing else, as to out-weigh all that can be put in the Scale against it; (which was ARISTOTLE'S Opinion) it must certainly follow, *That Honesty is the only, or however the greatest Good:* Now whatever is Good must certainly be Profitable; from whence it follows, *That whatever is Honest must also certainly be Profitable.* It is a villanous Error of some naughty Men therefore, when any thing strikes them with an *Appearance* of Profit, to seize it immediately and enjoy it as such, without ever considering its Relation to Honesty. Hence come Assassinations, Poysonings, and making of false Wills: Hence Stealing, Embezzling the Publick Monies, Plundering and Oppressing both Citizens and Confederates: Hence the unsufferable Power and Insolence which some Men exercise, who are grown too great for the rest of their Citizens: In fine, Hence Ambition, and the Desire of Rule, have produced their most cursed and deplorable Effects, even in free Common-wealths; than which nothing can be thought of more odious and detestable. For Men look upon the fancied *Advantages* of things thro' a false Perspective; but as for the *Punishment* appendant to them, (I do not mean of the Laws, which they frequently break through; but of Baseness and Dishonesty, which is much the more grievous) *that*, I say, they never so much as think upon at all. Such People therefore are impious and abominable, and deserve to be excluded from all Society, who deliberate with

with themselves, and make it Matter of Doubt, Whether they should choose what they see to be Honest, or wilfully commit what they know to be a Villany. For the very making a Question of such a thing is Criminal, though one should not proceed so far as to Execution. Those things therefore ought not to be deliberated at all upon, where the very Deliberation is Scandalous and Dishonest. And whenever we do deliberate upon any kind of Subject, we should never do any thing out of Hope, and Expectation, that our Actions will be concealed: For we ought to take this as a constant Maxim, if we pretend to have made any Progress in Philo'sophy, *That though we cou'd hide from the Eyes of all Men, and even of the Gods themselves, whatever we go about; yet we should be careful to abstain from the Vices of Covetousness and Injustice, of Lasciviousness and Incontinency.*

C H A P. IX.

He illustrates his Rule laid down in the former Chapter with the Story of Gyges, taken out of Plato. He shews himself a Villain, who acknowledges he would do wickedly, if he could with Secrecy.

TO this purpose PLATO brings in that remarkable Story of GYGES. A Gaping in the Earth being made by reason of some violent Showers, as the Story tells us, GYGES went down into the Hollow of it, and found there lying a brazen Horse, with a Door in his Side. This he opened, and looking in, discovered a dead Man's Body, of an unusual Bulk, with a Ring of Gold upon one of its Fingers. This he pulls off, and puts upon his own Finger; and then coming up, goes and joins himself to the rest of the Shepherds (for he was Shepherd to the King at that time.) Here he observed, That upon turning the Stone toward the Palm of his Hand, he became invisible to every body else, though others did not become so to him; and that upon turning it to its proper place, he immediately became

visible again, as before. Making use therefore of this lucky Opportunity, he found out a way to enjoy the Queen, and by her Assistance to murder the King, his Lord and Master, and to make away those, who might prove any hindrance or stop to his Designs, nor could any one possibly see or discover him in any of these Villanies; so that he quickly, by the help of this Ring, from a simple Shepherd became King of *Lydia*. Now had a truly Wise Man had the keeping of this Ring, he would not have thought himself ever the more privileged to be guilty of any Action that is wicked or detestable: For good Men desire to be virtuous and honest, and not to be secret, that so they may sin without Danger. And here some Philosophers, Men of more Honesty than Acuteness or Subtilty, cry out, *That this Story of PLATO's is a meer Fiction*: As tho' he had said either that it really was, or indeed *could be done*. No; the Meaning and Design of this Example of *Gyges* and the Ring, is this: Suppose you could do any dishonest Action, for the gratifying a lustful covetous, or ambitious Desire, so that no one living could either know or suspect it, but both Gods and Men must be kept perfectly in Ignorance; whether in such Case, would you do it or no? *Ay, but*, say they, *this is an impossible Case*: Tho' it is not so impossible neither: But that which I ask them is, *What they would do, supposing that possible, which they deny now to be so?* The Manner of their arguing is somewhat odd and illiterate; for they still deny the Possibility of it, and that they will stand to; not, it seems, understanding what the Force and true Import of this Supposition is. For when we put the Question to them, Whether they would do such an Action or not, *supposing they could conceal it*: we do not ask them, Whether they *can conceal it or not*: But put them, as it were, to the Rack or Inquisition; that so, if they say *they would gratify* such Desires upon Assurance of Impunity, we may know them to be Villains by their own Confession: But if they deny it, they may be forced to grant, that every base and dishonest Action is, barely as such, to be shunned and detested. But to return to our Purpose from which we have digressed.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

Several Cases, wherein Men doubt whether that which appears to be profitable be not honest. The Case of Brutus banishing Collatinus; of Romulus murdering his Brother Remus. Men may do what is for their own Advantage, provided they do no Injury to another. An excellent Saying of Chrysippus to that Purpose. How far a Man may honestly, and ought to go, upon a Friend's Account: illustrated by the Example of Damon and Pinthias, two loving Friends.

TH E R E frequently happen a great many Cases which disturb Mens Minds, and put them into Suspence, by the Shew of some Profit which they seem to contain in them. Not when Men deliberate, Whether they should leave and abandon their Honesty for the sake of any Profit, be it never so great; (for that is a Piece of Wickedness, as was before observed) but, Whether that Action which appears to be profitable, may not safely be done without transgressing against Honesty. It might not seem honest in BRUTUS, for, Example, to depose COLLATINUS his Brother-Consul from his Office, whose Wisdom and Conduct he himself had made use of in expelling the Kings. But since the chief Men in the Government had so ordered, That the Kindred of SUPERBUS, and very Name of the TARQUINS, should be banished the City, and no Marks or Foot-steps be suffered to remain of Monarchical Government; it was not only profitable thus to consult for the Safety of his Country, but so honest too, as that COLLATINUS himself ought joyfully to have acquiesced in it. That which was profitable therefore prevailed, because it was honest withal; which had it not been, it could never have been profitable. I cannot say the same in relation to that King, by whom this City was first founded: For a bare Shew of Profit got the better over him, when he imbrewed his Hands in the Blood of his own Brother, because it seemed more profitable to reign by himself, than in Conjunction

ction with another; He broke all the Ties both of brotherly Affection and common Humanity, for the obtaining of an End, which appeared to be profitable, and yet really was not so. He pretended however, for a Shew of Honesty, that it was done to revenge an Affront of his Brother's, who leapt with Contempt over his new-raised Wall; a frivolous Excuse, and, if true, not sufficient to serve his Turn: By his Favour therefore, whether QUIRINUS or ROMULUS, I cannot but think he did a very ill Action. Not that Men are bound to be careless of their own Interests, or to part with that to others which themselves stand in need of; but every one may do what he thinks for his own Advantage, provided it be no Injury or Prejudice to another Person. CHRYSIPPUS, amongst a great many very good Sayings, has this one in particular: "He that is running a Race ought to strive and endeavour, *says he*, as much as he is able to get before his Antagonist; but must not trip his Heels up, or thrust him aside with his Hands: So in Life it is allowable, that every one should get what is useful and convenient for his comfortable Subsistence, but it is not *so* to take it away from other People." But it is no where more difficult to keep to one's Duty, than in the Affair of Friendship: For as not to do every thing that one handsomely can for the sake of a Friend; so to do any thing that is base or dishonest, are both of them equally contrary to one's Duty. But there is one very short and yet easy Rule, which may serve to direct us in all Cases of this Nature; and it is this, Never to prefer that which *only seems* profitable, such as Honours, Riches, Pleasure, and the like, before a Kindness to a Friend: but never to do any thing for the sake of a Friend that is an Injury to the Publick, or a Breach of one's Oath, or other solemn Engagement: For whoever does this, it is impossible he should ever be a good Man. Should such a one therefore be Judge in his Friend's Case, he would not by any means be biassed in his Favour, but would wholly lay aside the Person of a Friend, as soon as he took upon him that of a Judge. Perhaps he might do so much for Friend-ship

ship sake, as to wish that his Friend may have the juster Cause; and allow him as long time to speak for himself as the Laws will permit of: But when he is to give in his Sentence upon Oath, he will then remember that he calls God to Witness, that is (I conceive) his own Soul and Conscience, the divinest Thing that God has granted to Man. It is a good Custom therefore we have received from our Ancestors, if we did but observe it, of *desiring the Judge to be as favourable to us, as his Oath will permit him.* The Meaning of which Request is no more than this, That he would do so much for us, as I just now said might very honestly be done by a Judge for his Friend. For if Men were obliged to do every thing presently that their Friends should desire of them; such Agreements as these ought to be counted not Friendships, but dangerous Conspiracies. I speak here only of the ordinary sort of Friendships; for in those which are found between perfectly wise Men, there can be no Danger of any such Thing. DAMON and PINTHIAS, two of PYTHAGORAS's Followers, were so closely united to one another in their Affections, that when DIONYSIUS the *Sicilian* Tyrant had appointed a Time wherein one of them should die, and the Party condemned had begged a few Days Respite, wherein he might provide for his Children and Family, and recommend them to some body who would take care of them after his Death; the other delivered up himself in his stead, voluntarily to die in the Room of his Friend, if he did not accordingly make his Appearance. The Prisoner came back at the Day appointed, in order to his Execution; which the Tyrant perceiving, was so greatly amazed at their extraordinary Faithfulness, as to desire he might be admitted a third Man in their Friendship. In Friendship therefore, when that which seems *profitable* comes into Competition with that which is *honest*, the latter should always be preferred before the former: But Faith and Religion should be preferred before Friendship, whenever it demands any thing that is not reconcileable with Virtue and Honesty. Which one Rule, if but carefully attended to, is sufficient for the Purpose

pose we are now upon; which is to discover, upon every Occasion, what are those Duties which Friendship requires of us.

C H A P. XI.

In the Management of the Publick Affairs, the Appearance of Profit makes Men relinquish Honesty. Several Examples of it. Examples of the contrary, when the Appearance of Profit is rejected for the sake of Honesty.

THE Appearance of Profit is also an Occasion in publick Affairs, of making false Steps, and doing several Things that are contrary to Duty. Thus our Fathers, for Instance, did ill in destroying and razing of *Corinth*. The *Athenians* yet worse in making an Order, That the People of *Ægina* should all have their Thumbs cut off, because they were powerful at Sea. This, no question, was thought a profitable Decree; for *Ægina* seem'd to threaten their Port *Piræum*, by reason of its Nearness: But nothing can truly be profitable that is cruel; for the Nature of Man, which we ought to follow as the Guide of our Actions, of all things in the World is most opposite to Cruelty. Those do ill likewise, who banish all Strangers, and forbid them the City: as *PENNUS* did in the preceding Age, and *PAPIUS* but lately. For though it is but fair, that he who is no Citizen should not have the Privileges of those who are; (which was made into a Law by two very wise Consuls, *viz.* *CRASSUS* and *SCÆVOLA*) yet wholly to exclude them from having any thing to do there, is plainly against the Dictates and Laws of Humanity. And as these things are bad in the Government of a State, so nothing is more splendid and glorious on the other hand, than for that, which appears to be the Interest of the Publick, to be rejected in the Comparison with Justice and Honesty. Our own Commonwealth can abundantly supply us with Examples of this Nature, as on other Occasions, so more especially in

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the second *Punick* War; when, after the Loss of that fatal Day at *Canna*, it shewed more Courage and Bravery of Resolution, than ever it had done upon the greatest Successes. There was not any Sign of Faintheartedness seen, nor ever any Mention of Peace once heard of: So great is the Glory and Brightness of Honesty, as that it utterly over-whelms the Appearance of Interest. The *Athenians* knowing they should never be able to resist the *Persians*, resolved by Consent to abandon their City, and carrying their Wives and their Children to *Træzene*, to defend by Sea the Liberties of *Greece*: And when one *CYRSILUS* tried to persuade them not to leave their City, but receive *XERXES* into it, they took him and stoned him: Not but that the Man would have drawn them to a Thing which was *seemingly* profitable; but that seeming Profit was *really* none at all, being contrary to Honesty. *THEMISTOCLES*, after that notable Victory in the *Persian* War, told all the People in a general Assembly, that he had thought upon a Thing which might prove of great Use and Advantage to the Publick, but *which* it was not convenient that every body should know of: Whereupon he desired they would appoint him some Person to whom he might safely communicate it in secret. *ARISTIDES* was immediately appointed accordingly: *THEMISTOCLES* told him, *it would be no hard Matter to fire in private the Spartan Fleet, which was laid up at Gytheum; whereby the whole Power of that Republick must necessarily be ruined.* *ARISTIDES*, as soon as he knew the Business, went back into the Assembly, (which was big with Expectation of what he had to say) and let them all know, *That THEMISTOCLES's Counsel indeed was advantageous, but by no means honest or creditable for the City.* The *Athenians* therefore, thinking what was dishonest not to be truly profitable, rejected immediately the whole Proposal, without having heard so much as what it was, upon nothing else but this Report of *ARISTIDES*. How much better and more honestly did they do than we, who can suffer even Pirates to live free from Molestation, and yet demand Tribute of our Confederates and Allies?

C H A P. XII.

The Opinion that a Thing may be profitable, though it is not honest, very pernicious. A Case put, wherein it is doubted, Whether that which seems to be profitable, be Honest or no? The Arguments on either Side, of two Philosophers differing in their Opinions. The Difference between to Conceal, and not to Tell. The Society of Mankind, how far it obliges.

LET us lay down this therefore as a standing Maxim, That whatever is dishonest can never be profitable; no, not though we should arrive at the full Possession of all those Advantages which we proposed to obtain by it. Nay, this very Persuasion, That a Thing may be profitable, though it is base and dishonest, is one of the greatest Mistortunes and Calamities that could ever have happened to the Life of Man. But there often fall out (as was before observed) some peculiar Cases, wherein that which is honest has a seeming Repugnance with that which is profitable; so that it requires some farther Consideration to know whether this Repugnance be certain and real, or whether they may not be brought to a fair Agreement. To this Head belong such Examples as these: Suppose we, for Instance, an honest Merchant, when Corn was scarce and extreamly dear at Rhodes, to bring a large Quantity thither from Alexandria; and withal to know, That a great many Ships, well laden with Corn, were in their Way thither from the same City: should he tell this now to the People of Rhodes, or say nothing of it, but sell his own Corn at the best Rates he could? We suppose him a virtuous and honest Man, and do not here discourse of the Deliberation of one, that would hold his Peace if he thought it were dishonest; but of one that doubts whether it be dishonest or not. In such sort of Cases DIOGENES the Babylonian, a Man of great Credit and Note among the Stoicks, is of one Opinion; and ANTIPATER his Scholar, an extraordinary smart and ingenious Man, of just the contrary. ANTIPATER would have every thing

thing be plainly told, that so the Buyer might be ignorant of nothing in what he buys, that the Seller himself knows of: **DIODENES** thinks it enough in the Seller to tell the Faults of his Goods as far as the Laws require it; and, as for the rest, tho' to use no Cozening, yet since he is come with Design to sell them, to get as much Money for them as ever he can. Here, may the Merchant say, *I have brought my Corn; I have exposed it to Sale; and sell it no dearer than other People do; (nay perhaps he will say cheaper, there being now a greater Quantity than there was before) and pray where is now the Wrong I have done to any Body?* **ANTIPATER** argues upon a different Principle: *What say you, (quoth he) are not you obliged to do Good to Mankind; and be serviceable to the Society of all Men in general? Were not you born under such an Obligation? And had not you such Principles ingrafted into you by Nature, which it is always your Duty to follow and obey, that your single Interest should be the same with that of all Men; and again, that of all Men should be the same with yours? And will you, this notwithstanding, conceal from the People what Plenty there is a-coming, the Knowledge of which might be of so great Use and Advantage to them?* **DIODENES** perhaps will reply upon him thus: *It is one thing to conceal, and another not to tell; nor can I be said to conceal from you now, tho' I do not tell you, what the Nature and Essence of the Gods is, and what the Happiness or chief Good of Men; Things which it would do one much more Kindness to know, than that Quantities of Corn are like to be here shortly. But if any thing be profitable for you to hear, it is none of my Duty to come and tell it you immediately. Nay, but you will find that it is your Duty, (may the other reply) if you will please but to remember, That there is such a kind of thing as a mutual Relation and Society amongst all Men. Well, I do remember it; (may the other reply again) but, I pray you, is that Society of such a Nature, as that no Man who lives in it must have any thing that is his own; If this be so, then there is no more selling, but we must even give every thing away that we have.*

C H A P. XIII.

Another Case put, Whether he that sells a bad House, be obliged to tell the Purchaser it is so? The Arguments pro and con of Antipater and Diogenes. Cicero's Determination of it, as also of that in the foregoing Chap:er. What it is properly to conceal.

YOU plainly perceive, that it is never once said in all this Dispute, *Though such a thing is not Honest, yet I will do it because it is Profitable*: but the one side defends the Expediency of it, *no farther than it is Honest*; and the other denies that it ought to be done, *because it is not Honest*. Again, suppose an honest Man were to sell an House, because of some Defects which he himself knows of, though others do not: Suppose it to be unhealthful, for Example, but esteemed quite the contrary; Serpents to annoy all the Chambers of it, but no body to know this; made of bad Materials, and ready to fall, but no one to discern this except the Owner only: I demand, if he sells this for more than he expected, and do not tell the Buyer of these several Faults, whether he do not act like a Knave and Villain? *Yes undoubtedly*, answers ANTIPATER: *For what is this better, than not to set a Man right when he is out of his Way, (which at Athens was punished with publick Execrations) thus to suffer the Buyer, as it were, to fall headlong, and run through a Mistake into very great Mischiefs. Nay, it is something worse yet, than not to shew a Man his Way; for it is wilfully and designedly to draw him into Mischiefs.* DIOGENES on the contrary vindicates the Seller: *Pray did he force you (says he) to buy his House, when he did not so much as advise you to it? He set a thing to sale which he did not like; and here you have bought a thing, which you did like. For if those Men, who make it be published to the World, Here is a very good House; and very well built, to be sold; are not counted Deceivers, though the House be not good, nor at all well built; how much less should those be counted so, who do not commend their House at all? For where-*
ever

ever the Buyer has the free Use of his Judgment, what Fraud can there be upon the Seller's Part? And if a Man is not bound to make good all he said, would you have him make good what he did not say? Beside, What, I beseech you, could be more odd and foolish, than for the Seller to tell the Faults of his own Wares? Or what more ridiculous, than for the Cryer to proclaim by the Proprietor's Order, an infectious and pestilential House to be sold? And thus you see there are some doubtful Cases, in which on the one Hand Men argue for Honesty, and on the other are Advocates for Profit; so far as to shew, that it is not only *Honest* to do that which is Profitable, but even *Dishonest* to neglect and omit it: And this is that *seeming* Opposition we spoke of, which often falls out between Profit and Honesty. But let us now proceed to determine these Cases; for we did not propose them for meer Question sake, but that we might give them a fair Decision. I am then of Opinion, That the Corn-Merchant ought not to have concealed from the *Rhodians*, nor this Seller of his House from the Purchasers of it, the several things that are mentioned in their Cases. It is true *not to tell* a thing, is *not* properly to *conceal* it; but not to tell that, which People are concerned to know meerly for the sake of some Advantage to yourself, I think *is*: And there is no body but knows what *concealing* this is, and who they are that make a Custom of it: I am sure not your plain, sincere, ingenious, honest, and good sort of People; but rather your shifting, sly, cunning, deceitful, roguish, crafty, foxish, juggling kind of Fellows. And must it not necessarily be unprofitable for any Man to lie under this, and a much longer Catalogue, of such black and most odious Names of Vices?

C H A P. XIV.

Of those, who are so far from telling the Faults of their Wares, as that they invent Lies to make them appear the better. An Example of this kind. Aquilius's Definition of Knavery, or Dolus malus.

AND if those Men are thus blameable, who keep the Faults of their things secret; what shall we think of those, who add down-right Lying to it? C. CANIUS, a Roman Knight, one that loved to be pleasant, and a pretty good Scholar, removing to *Siracuse* for the sake of Retirement and not of Employment, (as he was used to say) gave out he had a great Mind to buy some Gardens, whither he might invite his Friends and Acquaintance, and enjoy their Conversation without being interrupted. This coming abroad, there was one PYTHIUS, a Goldsmith or Banker at *Siracuse*, who told him, Indeed he had no Gardens to sell, but such as he had were at CANIUS's Service, if he pleased to make use of them, as much as though they were his own: And withal he desired him to come next Day, and take a Dinner with him there. When CANIUS had promised him to come accordingly, what does he do but send immediately for some Fishermen, (having Interest enough, by reason of his Calling, with all sorts of People) and desires them the next Day to fish before his Gardens; giving them their Instructions about what he would have them to do. CANIUS came at the time appointed, and PYTHIUS had provided a very splendid Entertainment for him: Just before the Garden, where he could not but take Notice of it, was a company of Fisher-Boats; and every one of the Men in particular brought the Fish he had caught, and laid them down before PYTHIUS. *How now PYTHIUS!* (says CANIUS to him) *what! all these Fish here? All these Boats?* O lack, Sir, (says the other) *that is no great Wonder; all the Fish that supply the City must be taken here: this is their common Water; none of these People could ever live, if it were not for my House.* CANIUS immediately

diately was all on Fire, and begged of PYTHIUS that he would sell him the Place. He pretended abundance of Unwillingness at first; but at length (to make short of it) was brought to a Compliance. CANIUS buys it, together with all that belonged to it, and being very rich and desirous of the Purchase, gives as much for it as PYTHIUS demanded. Security is given and taken for the Money, and the whole Bargain finally brought to a Conclusion. The next Day CANIUS invites some Acquaintance thither, and he comes himself somewhat earlier than ordinary; but sees not one of the Fishermen's Boats there. Hereupon he enquires of one of the next Neighbours, whether or no that were any Holiday with the Fishermen; because he saw none of them thereabouts. Not that I know of, replies the other; but they none of them ever use to fish here, and therefore I wondered what the Matter was Yesterday. This put CANIUS into a lamentable Fret; but how could he help himself? For AQUILIUS, my Colleague and familiar Friend, had not then published his Court-forms about Knavery; upon which when he was asked what he meant by the Word *Knavery*? he answered, *The making shew of one thing, while one is doing another*: a very perspicuous and plain Definition, as indeed he was a Man very happy at Defining. PYTHIUS then, and all others whatever, that make shew of one thing, and yet do the Contrary, are perfidious, wicked, and knavish Rascals. It is impossible therefore that any of their Actions should ever be Profitable, when they are under the Scandal of such a number of filthy and detestible Vices.

CHAP. XV.

All Hypocrisie and Dissimulation to be taken away. Knavery, or Dolus malus, punished by the Roman Laws and Judgments of Equity. A remarkable Action of Scævola's. He is not a wise Man, who is not wise for his own Advantage; in what Sense true. A truly good Man is not content with being as just as the Laws require. A Definition of such a one. He is very hard to be found.

IF then this Definition of AQUILIUS be good, all Hypocrisie and Dissimulation must be banished from amongst Men; so that no honest Man will be guilty of either of them, for the sake of buying or selling to his greater Advantage. Nay this Knavery or Cozenage has always been punished by the Laws of the City: Witness the XII Tables about the Case of Guardianship; and LÆTORIUS's Law about the over-reaching of Minors. Nay, where there was nothing of a Law against it, it was nevertheless punishable in those Judgments of Equity, the Form of which was, *Ex fide bona agitur*, That all things be done faithfully and honestly. And the same sort of Words are in all other Judgments; as when a Wife, for Example, enters an Action for her Dowry, upon a Divorce from her Husband, *Melius Æquius*, That things be settled better and more equitably: When any thing had been mortgaged and pawned to another, *Ut inter bonos bene agier*, That among honest Men there be nothing done, but only that which is Honest. And could there possibly be any Knavery allowed of in that, where the very Court-form was, *Melius Æquius*, for the better and more equitable settling of things? Or any thing done through Deceit and Roguery, where these Words are publicly read in Court, *Inter bonos bene agier*, That among honest Men there may be nothing done, except that which is honest? Now there is something of this Knavery, as AQUILIUS say, in all false Shews and hypocritical Pretences: Lying therefore should wholly be banished from all Sorts of Business,

ness, and Commerce in the World: Nor should Sellers bring People to bid high for their Goods, and enhance their Prices; nor Purchasers others to bid under Value, and so beat them down lower: but each of them, if they come to speak about a Bargain, should say at a Word what he will give and take. QUINTUS SCAEVOLA, the Son of PUBLIUS, going to buy an Estate, desired the owner to tell him at one Word, what it was he must have for it: The Seller did so, and SCAEVOLA told him, He thought it was worth more than what he had demanded for it, and accordingly gave him a thousand Crowns over. Now there is no one but will grant this was done like an *Honest*, but they will not allow it was like a *Prudent* Man; any more than if he had sold a Thing for less, than he might have had for it. Here now, you may see, is that pernicious Opinion, thus to make a Distinction between *Prudence* and *Honesty*. ENNIUS has a Saying to this purpose, *That he would not give a Farthing for a prudent Man, that could not be prudent for his own Advantage*; to which I am ready to set my Hand, if he and I can agree upon one and the same Meaning of the Word *Advantage*. I find that HECATON, a *Rhodian* Philosopher, and Scholar of PANÆTIUS, in his Book about *Offices*, which he wrote to Q. TUBERUS, hath laid this down as a wise Man's Duty, first to conform to the Laws, and Customs, and Practices of his Country; and, when he hath done that, to make the best Improvement he can of his Estate: since we ought to seek Riches not only for ourselves, but our Children, Friends, Relations, and especially the Commonwealth, whose publick Riches must principally consist in the Wealth and Stock of its particular Members. This Man can by no means approve of that Action, which I just now mentioned of QUINTUS SCAEVOLA; and there is nothing, he tells us, that he would scruple to do for his own Advantage, if it be but permitted and allowed of by the Law; for which I think he does not much deserve to be thanked or commended. If then to make pretence of that which never was, and cunningly to dissemble the real Truth, be Pieces of Knavery, there are but very few Actions that are altogether

together free from it : And if he alone be an honest Man, *Who does all the Good he can, and does no Injury to any body*, it will be no easie matter to find one in the World. The Result of what has been said is this, To be Knavish and Wicked can never be profitable, because it is attended with Baseness and Dishonour; and it *always* must be profitable to be Virtuous and Good, because it *always* is honest and creditable.

C H A P. XVI.

The Care taken by the Romans, to make the Seller tell the Faults of the thing to be sold. An Example or two of Cases of this Nature.

IN the Matter of buying and selling Estates, it is provided amongst us by the Civil Constitutions, that he who is the Seller should tell all the Faults that he knows of, to the Purchaser. For the XII Tables ordering no more than this, that the Seller should be bound to make good those Faults, which were expressly mentioned by Word of Mouth in the Bargain; and which whoever denied, was to pay double Damages; The Lawyers have appointed a Punishment for those, who themselves do not discover the Defects of what they sell: For they have so decreed, *That if the Seller of an Estate, when he made the Bargain, did not tell all the Faults in particular, that he knew of it; he should afterwards be bound to make them good to the Purchaser.* TITUS CLAUDIUS CENTUMALUS (to give an Example) had a House that stood upon the *Calian Hill*, and hindered the Augurs as they made their Observations from the *Capitoline Mount*: who therefore gave him orders to pull that down, which was such an hindrance to their Business. Instead of this, CLAUDIUS puts a Bill over the Door, *That the House was to be sold*; and quickly put it off, P. CALPURNIUS LANARIUS, being the Man that bought it. The Augurs in a short time sent him the same Orders, and he accordingly took care to perform them.

them. But afterwards coming to understand, that CLAUDIUS had not set the House to sale, till after he had been ordered by the Augurs to demolish it; he brought in against him an Action at Law, *To receive such Satisfaction, as in Conscience and Equity he was bound to make him.* MARCUS CATO, the Father of him that is lately dead (for as others are distinguished by the Names of their Fathers, so he that begot this incomparable Person should be named from his Son) sat as Judge in the Case, and gave this Sentence upon the whole Matter, that since CLAUDIUS knew this Inconvenience before-hand, and did not discover it when he sold the Estate, he was obliged in Equity to make it good to the Purchaser. He judged it therefore to be a part of Honesty, that the Seller should fairly declare to the Buyer, all the Faults which he knows in the thing to be sold. If then this Judgment were just and equitable, neither the Merchant that brought the Corn, nor the supposed Seller of the infectious House, did well in concealing what either of them knew. But all the particular sorts of concealing could never be taken notice of by the Laws of the City; however such as could were very carefully provided against. M. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, a Kinsman of mine, had sold an House to SERGIUS ORATA, which he had bought of the same Person not many Years before. The House, it seems, paid a Duty to SERGIUS, which MARIUS never once mentioned in the Bargain. The Business came at last to a Suit in Law, wherein LUCIUS CRASSUS was Council for ORATA, and ANTHONY for GRADITIANUS. CRASSUS insisted very much upon the Law, which says, that the Seller shall make good those Faults, which he himself knew of, and yet concealed them from the Buyer: ANTHONY on the other side argued for Equity, that SERGIUS could not but know that Incumbrance, who had sold the House himself but a little while before; and therefore what need was there of telling him of it? That he could not complain of being any ways imposed upon, since he knew very well the Condition of what he bought. I have brought you these Instances only to let

you see, that these cunning sort of Men were never approved of by our Ancestors.

C H A P. XVII.

The different Methods used by Law and Philosophy, for the rooting out of Knavery. Treachery to set up Traps, though one do not drive the Beasts into them. How the Law of Nature differs from the Civil. The Excellence of the Roman Civil Laws. The Extent of that Expression, Ex fide bona. Knavish Cunning very different from true Prudence. How the Laws provide against Fraud in selling of Slaves. Nature forbids one Man to make his Gain of another's Ignorance. The ill effects of false Prudence.

BUT the Laws take one way to root these Frauds out, and Philosophers another; the former meddling no further with them, than as they break out into open Acts, and may (as it were) be laid hold on by the Hands of Justice: the latter endeavouring to hinder their breaking out, and to prevent them by Precepts of Wisdom and Reason. Reason therefore requires of us, That we do nothing treacherously, nothing Deceitfully, nothing meerly by outward Shews and false Pretences. Now is it not Treachery to set up a Trap, though one does not fright and pursue the Beasts into it? for the simple Creatures of themselves will run into it, without being driven. Just so you offer an House to be sold, because of some Faults which you know to be in it; and put up your Bill, as it were like a Trap, in which some unwary sort of Body will be taken. I know *that*, at present, the depravation of Manners, and Prevalence of evil Custom, have made this be counted neither Base nor Dishonourable; and *that* it is tolerated by the Laws and Constitutions of the *Publick*: but I am sure it is not tolerated by the Laws of Nature. For it is to be considered (I must repeat it again, though I have already mention'd it a great many times) that there

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is such a thing as natural Society, which comprehends all Men, and ties and unties them to one another: There is a nearer between those of the same Nation; and a nearer yet, between those of the same City. Therefore our Fore-fathers made a Distinction, between that Law which is common to Nations, and that which belongs to each City in particular. Whatever we are bound, *by the Civil Constitutions*, to do to our Citizens; we are not obliged, *by the Law of Nations*, to do the same to Strangers: but whatever we are bound by this latter to do to others, the same we ought to do to our Citizens also: But the Law, which at present we use amongst us, is far from being an original Piece, immediately taken from genuine Right and true perfect Justice; it is only a Copy and faint Representation of it. However, I could wish we lived up even to this: for it is copied at least from some of the best Originals, which were drawn from the Truth and Nature of the Thing. For how excellent is that Form in judicial Proceedings, *Urine, &c. That I may not be defrauded or brought to an Inconvenience, by trusting to you, and your Honesty!* And how incomparable that other, *That honest Men do nothing, but that which is honest and without Design.* But the great Question is, Who they are *that are honest Men*; and what it is to *do nothing, but that which is honest?* Q. SCAEVOLA, I remember the High-Priest, was used to say, *That all those Judgments which had Ex fide bona, Faithfully and honestly*, put into their Forms, were of marvellous Force; and *that faithfully and honestly* were of very large Extent, and belonged not only to *Wardships, Societies, Trusts and Commissions*, but to *Buyings, Sellings, Lettings and Hirings*, which relate to the Society and Intercourse of Mankind; and *that* it was the Part of an extraordinary Judge, to determine exactly in all these Cases, what one Man ought to make good to another, upon only the bare Principles of *Conscience and Honesty*; especially seeing Men differ in their Judgments about the greatest part of them. All Craft therefore should utterly be banished, and that *knavish* sort of *Cunning*, which would fain indeed be counted, but is the farthest from, *Prudence*, of any thing in the World:

World: for Prudence consists in the making a right Distinction between Good and Evil; but this Kind of Cunning gives the Preference to Evil; if, at least, it be true (as most certainly it is) that every thing is Evil, which is contrary to Honesty. Neither is it only in *Farms and Houses* that the Laws of the City, which are copied from Nature, take care to have Cheating and Knavery punished; but in Slaves they exclude all Fraud in the Seller: For he that is presumed to know what the Slave was, if he does not declare whether he be healthy, a Runagate, or apt to steal, is answerable to the Buyer, by an Order of the *Ædiles*: But this does not hold in the Case of an Heir. From what has been said, it apparently follows, since Nature is the Fountain from whence Law is derived, that it is agreeable to the Dictates and Rules of Nature, that no one should endeavour to make his own Advantage from the Ignorance of another. And indeed there is no greater Mischief in the World, than this Wisdom, *falsely* so named, joined with Baseness and Knavery. From this have arisen innumerable Cases, wherein Profit is set up in Opposition to Honesty: For where almost is there a Man to be found, that would scruple to injure and wrong any other, if he could do it with Secrecy, and without Fear of being punished?

C H A P. XVIII.

An Example of a Wickedness committed when there was no Fear of Punishment. It is a Wickedness to be a Receiver of ill-gotten Goods, though you have no hand in the getting them. It is dishonest to get Estates by servile Flattery. Separating Profit from Honesty, the Cause of all Mischief.

LET us try, if you please, by some Examples of that Nature, wherein the common sort of People, perhaps, think there is no Crime: For we do not speak here of such as cut Throats, Poison, *make false Wills,*
 Rob,

Rob, or Embezzle the publick Treasures; who are not to be repressed with nothing but Words and philosophical Discourses, but must be vexed and wearied out with Chains and Imprisonment: But let us consider here what is done by those, who pass in the World for Men of Honesty and Integrity. A Will that was forged of one MINUTIUS BASILUS, a wealthy Person, was brought by some People out of *Greece* into *Italy*; who, to make it the more easily pass for good, made MARCUS CRASSUS and LUCIUS HORTENSIVS, the two greatest Men at that time in the City, Joint-Heirs with themselves: who, though they suspected the whole to be a Forgery, yet having nothing of hand in it themselves, made very little Scruple of getting an Advantage by other Peoples Villany. And what then? was that sufficient to excuse them from Fault, *That they themselves had no hand in it*? Truly I am fully persuaded not; tho' I always loved one of them while he was alive, and do not hate the other since he is dead and gone. But when BASILUS had desired that MARCUS SATURIUS, his Sister's Son, should bear his Name, and had appointed him his Heir; (*I nominate him*, says he, *Lord of my Sabine and Pitenian Manors*) was it any ways a just and reasonable Thing, and not rather an eternal Blot upon those Times, that some principal Citizens should have a Man's Estate, and SATURIUS the Heir be put off barely with his Name? For if he be unjust, that does not keep off Injuries from any of his Neighbours, and defend and protect them as far as he is able, (as I have shewn already in the first Book) what sort of Man shall we take him to be, who not only does not keep off an Injury, but rather on the contrary helps to promote it? Nay I, for my part, am wholly of Opinion, That Estates which are left Men by *true* Wills, if gotten by knavish and servile Flatteries, not by a *real*, but pretended Friendship, are scandalous and dishonest. But in such kind of Cases it often comes to pass, that one thing seems *Profitable*, and another *Honest*; undoubtedly by a Mistake; for the same thing is the Measure both of the one and the other; which whoever perceives not, will easily be led into all sorts of Roguery. For

he that begins thus to argue with himself. *That* indeed is honest, but *this* is advantageous; impudently divides, by this gross Mistake, those things which by Nature are coupled and united: which is the deadly Root, from which all Frauds, Wickednesses, and Villanies spring.

C H A P. XIX.

The Carriage of a truly honest Man, when it is in his Power to be dishonest so as not to be discovered. The true Notion of a good Man. A saying of Fimbria's in the Case of Lutatius Pinthia, to this Purpose. A Proverb borrowed from the Country, shewing, that nothing dishonest, how secret soever, can be profitable.

IF a Good Man therefore should have such a power, as that by snapping of his Fingers he could slip his Name cunningly into rich People's Wills, he could never make use of it: no, not although he were fully assured, that no one living could either *know* or *suspect* it: But give such a Power to MARCUS CRASSUS, that by doing the same thing he should make himself Heir, where he *really* was not so, and he would dance, I dare warrant you, publickly in the Market-place. But he that is *Honest*, and answers to our Notion of a *Good Man*, will never take any thing away from another for the enriching himself, and filling his own Coffers; which whoever admires at, let him even confess at the same time, that he does not understand what a *Good Man* is. For if any one will thoroughly examine his own Thoughts, and clear up a little his obscure Conceptions, he will quickly be able to tell himself, that a Good Man is one, *Who does all the Good that he can to others, but never any Harm; unless by way of reasonable and just Retribution for some Injury received.* I desire to know then; is not that Man guilty of *Harming* another, that outs the rightful Heirs, as it were, by a Spell, and procures himself to be put into their Rooms? How then! (will some Men say) what would not you have People

People consult their own Interest? Yes, but withal I would have them understand, that nothing can be so, that is base or dishonest : which is a necessary Maxim for all those to learn, whoever design to be good Men. I remember I heard my own Father tell, as long ago as when I was a Boy, that FIMBRIA, one who had formerly been Consul, was Judge in a Case of LUTATIUS PINTHIA's, a Roman Knight, and a very honest Man; who, upon pain of loosing a certain Sum of Money, was to prove himself to be a good Man. Hereupon FIMBRIA plainly told him, that he would never pass Judgment upon such a matter; lest either by giving the Cause against him, he should spoil the Credit of a well-approved Citizen; or else should be forced, by giving it for him, to pronounce that any one was a *Good Man*: which he could not do, considering the infinite Virtues and Duties, that are requisite to the completing any Person of that Character. This *Good Man* then, of whom FIMBRIA had a Notion, as well as SOCRATES, will never judge any thing profitable, that is dishonest: From whence it follows, that such a one will always be *so far from doing, as that he will never so much as think* of any thing, which he is afraid should be laid open to the rest of the World. And is it not a Shame that Philosophers should doubt of this, when there is not a Peasant in the Country but assents to it? For from them we have gotten that common Saying, which is now by long Usage become a Proverb among us, which they bring in to signify the faithful Dealing and Honesty of a Man: *He is one (say they) that you may venture to play with at Even and Odd in the dark.* The Meaning of which, what can it be but this, that nothing can be profitable, but that which is honest and becoming, though a Man could be certain of being never found out in it? You see then according to this Proverb, that neither that GYGES, whom we mentioned above, nor that other, whom we just now supposed to have a Power by the snapping of his Fingers to become all Peoples Heir, can by any means be excused. For as that which is scandalous and dishonest in itself, however it may be hid from the Eye of the World, can never be brought

to be honest and creditable; so also *that*, which is not honest and creditable, can never be brought to be profitable and Advantageous; the very Nature of the things resisting and opposing it.

C H A P. XX.

Great Rewards are very apt to make Men forgetful of Honesty. Examples concerning this. An excellent Rule for our Direction in this case. A Man loses more by doing an unjust Action, than ever he can gain by it, be the Reward what it will.

BUT when People expect great Advantages from their Roguery, it is a mighty Temptation for them to be guilty of it. Thus, for Instance, when MARIUS was far from any Hopes of obtaining the Consulship, and had lain seven Years from the time of his being Prætor, so that no one suspected his standing for that Honour; being dispatched to Rome by Q. METELLUS, whose Lieutenant he was, an extraordinary Man, and a brave Member of the Republick; he accused his General to the People of Rome of protracting the War; and told them, *That if they would but choose him Consul, they should soon have JUGURTHA, either dead or alive, delivered into their Power.* It is true by this Artifice he got to be chosen Consul, but he payed for it the Price of his Honesty and Fidelity; who could thus bring an useful and excellent Citizen, whose Lieutenant he was, and by whom he was sent, into Hatred and Ill-will by false Accusations. Nor did my Kinsman GRATIDIANUS act the part of an honest and fair-dealing Man, in the time of his Prætorship: The Tribunes of the People held a common Consultation with the Company of Prætors, about settling the Value and Rate of Money; which at those times was grown to be so very unconstant, as that no body could be certain how much he was worth. They made an Edict by common Consent, allowing an Action against those who transgressed it, and

and appointing a Penalty for those who were convicted. This being ordered, they agreed to meet again in the Assembly after Noon, and all of them together tell the People what they had done. The Meeting broke up, and the rest all departed, some one Way, and some another: MARIUS only directly from the Court went down to the Assembly, and by himself alone declared that to the People, which all of them had agreed upon by general Consent. If you ask now what was the Event of this; nothing in the World could have got him greater Honour, Statues erected for him about the Streets, Frankincense and Tapers burnt at every one of them; and, in short, never was any Man more adored by the Multitude. These are the things, which do sometimes mislead Men in deliberating about their Duty; when the Offence against Honesty seems very trivial, but the Advantage that is gained by it very considerable. Thus MARIUS thought it but a little Piece of Knavery, to steal the People's Love from the Tribunes and his Collegues; but a mighty Advantage to be made Consul by it, which was what he at that time proposed to himself. But in all these Cases there is only one Rule, which I desire you would constantly take along with you: *Be sure in the first Place, that what you count profitable be no way dishonest; and if it be dishonest, then assure your self that it is not truly profitable.* And can we then esteem either the one or the other of these MARIUSES good Men? Consider a little and examine your own Thoughts, that you may see what Idea, what Notion or Conception, you have of a good Man. Is it reconcilable then with the Character of such a one, to lie for the sake of his own Advantage; to deceive, to raise false Reports and Misrepresentations of others; to seize that before-hand, which others have a Right to as well as himself? Certainly, nothing less. And is there any thing then of such excellent Worth? any Profit or Interest so very desirable, for the gaining of which one would forfeit the Glory and Reputation of a Good Man? Can that, which we call by the Name of Profitable, bring us any thing so good as what it takes away from us, if it spoil our being counted Men of

Honesty and Integrity? If it occasion the Loss of our Justice and Faithfulness; that is, in plain truth, if it change us into Brutes? For where is the great difference between altering our Shapes and becoming real Beasts; and carrying the Nature and Eierceness of Beasts, though under the Outsides and Figures of Men?

C H A P. XXI.

To do any thing Dishonest for the sake of Power and Authority, not Profitable. A most detestable Maxim of Cæsar's. Not Profitable to make himself King in a Free City. The Unhappiness of a Tyrant's Life.

A GAIN, Those who condemn all Justice and Honesty for the sake of Power, do not they the same thing that a certain Man did, when he chose to be Son-in-law to none but one, by whose daring Boldness he might encrease his own Authority? He thought it a very great Advantage, no question, to enlarge his own Greatness, by drawing Hatred upon another; but he never considered how great a Disservice he did to his Country, and how much Scandal and Discredit he brought upon himself. As for the Father, he had always a couple of Greek Verses in his Mouth, taken out of EURIPIDES's Tragedy of *Phænissa*; which I will endeavour to translate as well as I am able, perhaps it may be awkwardly, but however so as to make their Sense appear:

*If ever we may break the Ties of Right,
'Tis when a Kingdom is the glorious Prize:
In other things be strictly Just—*

It was a villanous thing in EXOCLES, or rather in EURIPIDES indeed, to exempt that one Breach of Right from being criminal, which is certainly of all others the most wicked and detestable. Why do we insist then upon Examples of lesser Rogueries, such as making
one's

one's self Heir by Cunning and Spells, Cheats about Buying, Selling, &c. Here is a Man for you, that has made no scruple of desiring to make himself King of the *Roman* People, and Lord and Governour of the whole Earth; nay, and which is worse, hath accomplished his Desire. If any Man calls this an honest Ambition, he must be out of his Wits; for he justifies the Subversion of our Laws and Liberties, and esteems the most base and detestable Oppression of them, a virtuous, laudable, and glorious Action: But if any Man, confessing that it is not Honest, to get the Dominion in that Republick, which *has been and ought to be* always free, will yet say, it is Profitable for him that can do it; what Reproofs shall I use, or what Reproaches rather, to recal such a one from so dangerous an Error? Good Gods! Can it ever be supposed then to be any Man's Interest, by the heinouslest and most unnatural Wickedness upon Earth, to ruin and destroy his own Native Country, though perhaps the Man, who is guilty of it, may afterwards be stiled by his poor oppressed Citizens, *The Father of it? Interest* therefore should always be measured by *Justice* and *Honesty*; so that these two Words, tho' of different Sounds, should yet be understood to mean one and the same Thing. I know the common People are apt to imagine, that nothing in the World can be better than to Govern; but when I consider the real Truth and Reason of the thing itself, I find on the contrary that nothing can be worse, when People arrive at it by unlawful Means. Can it possibly be Profitable for any Man then, to live in perpetual Cares and Anxieties? to be Day and Night racked and tormented with Fears, in a Life full of nothing but Treacheries and Dangers? *Many are Treacherous and Unfaithful to Kings*, says ACCIUS, *and but few are Faithful*. But of what sort of Kings did he speak this? Was it not of those, who by lawful Succession had received the Royal Scepter from TANTALUS and PELOPS? How many more then must we suppose to be unfaithful to that King, who with an Army of *Romans* had oppressed and enslaved the *Roman* People itself? and had forced that City, which
was

was not only Free, but even Empress of the whole World, to submit her Neck to his Tyrannical Yoke; What Uneasiness of Mind must such a one, think you, be continually under? What Wounds and Twitches of Conscience must he needs feel? How, in short, can that Life be an Advantage to any Man, which has this Inconvenience inseparably annexed to it, that whoever is so happy as to take it away, will obtain the greatest Glory and Good-will from all the World? And if these things, which seem *most of all* to be Profitable, yet are found to be the contrary when Unworthy and Dishonest; this certainly ought to convince us all, *That nothing can be Profitable, which is not Honest.*

C H A P. XXII.

A brave Example of the Romans preferring Justice before a seeming Profit. Glory can never be gotten by Wickedness. Riches Unprofitable, if accompanied with Infamy. Example of injustice in the Romans. How an Empire ought to be supported. Cato too severe in exacting the Tributes. An unjust Saying of Curio's.

BUT this has been determined, as at many other times by our wise Fore-Fathers, so particularly by FABRICIUS, then a second time Consul, and the whole Roman Senate, in the War with PYRRHUS. For when PYRRHUS had voluntarily made War upon the Romans, and the Contention was held about Empire and Mastery, with a no less powerful than generous Adversary; a Deserter came secretly into FABRICIUS's Camp, and offered, upon condition he might be well Rewarded, to return back again with the same Secresie that he came, and to Poyson PYRRHUS. But instead of Encouragement, FABRICIUS ordered him to be sent back to PYRRHUS, and was afterwards commended by the Senate for so doing. If we look no further now than the outward appearance of what seems to be Profitable, here is a dangerous War, and a powerful Adversary

Adversary of the growing Empire might soon have been removed by the single Assistance of this one Deserter: But then it would have been an eternal Scandal, not to mention the Villany and Wickedness of it, in an honourable War, which was managed with a fair and generous Enemy, not to get the Victory by Virtue and Courage, but only by base and treacherous Practices. Whether was it more Profitable then for FABRICIUS, who was such in this City as ARISTIDES was at *Athens*; or for the *Roman* Senate, which never thought any thing dishonourable their Interest; to contend with an Enemy by Valour or by Poison? If Empire be desirable for the sake of Glory, why is not Wickedness altogether banish'd, in which it is impossible there should ever be any Glory? But if we are for Power at any rate, we should do well to consider, that it can never be profitable when accompanied with Infamy. That Counsel therefore of LUCIUS PHILIPPUS, the Son of QUINTUS, was far from being profitable. *That those very Cities, which SYLLA had freed for a set Sum of Money, by the Senate's Order, should again be brought under their former Contributions; and yet not the Money, which they had payed, be returned them.* This Advice of his was followed by the Senate, to the great Disparagement and Shame of the Empire; for even Pirates at this rate will sooner be trusted than the *Roman* Senate. Well, but the publick Revenues were encreased by it, and therefore it was Profitable: Heavens! how long will Men dare to call any thing Profitable, which is not Honest! Can Hatred then and Infamy be Profitable to a State, which ought to be supported by Glory and Credit, and the Love of its Confederates! In this Particular I often disagreed from my old Friend CARO, whom I always thought to be somewhat too headstrong, in standing up for the Interest of the publick Treasury; and exacting the Tributes with so much Rigour, as not to make any Allowances to the Farmers, and very seldom or never grant any thing to the Confederates: whereas we ought always to be kind to the latter, and to deal with the former, as we would do with our own Bailiffs; and that so much the more,
because

because all the Safety and Welfare of the Republick depends upon the Agreement of the several Orders in it. Nor less Ill than PHILIP's, was the Counsel of CURIO; who, in the Case of the People inhabiting beyond the *Po*, though he confessed their Demands were but just and reasonable, yet always added, *Vincat utilitas; Every thing must give way to the Interest of the Publick*. He should rather have said, that they were not just, because not comporting with the Publick Interest; than thus have declared they did not comport with it, and at the same time confess them to be just and reasonable.

C. H A P. XXIII.

Several Cases put by Hecaton the Rhodian. Diogenes and Antipater oppose one another. Whether Bad Money received for Good should be put off.

HECATON proposeth, in his sixth Book of Offices, several Questions such as these which follow: Whether a good Man, in time of great Scarcity, may refuse to give Victuals to the Servants of his own Family? He discourses indeed upon either side of the Question, but at last concludes, That he should rather be guided by his Interest, than Humanity. He demands again, If a Merchant in a Storm be forced to throw his Goods over-board, whether of the two he should chuse to cast away, a very valuable Horse, or a Servant that is good for nothing? Here Interest, and the saving of his Goods draws one way, and Compassion of Human Nature another. Should a Fool in a Shipwreck have gotten a Plank, may a wise Man take it away from him if he can? He answers, No; because it would be plainly a Piece of Injustice: But what if the Owner of the Ship should come? may not he take it away when it properly belongs to him? No, not at all, no more than he may throw a Man out of the Ship, under the Pretence that the Ship belongs to him. For till they are arriv'd whither the Ship

Ship was hired for, it does not more properly belong to the Owner, than it does to the Passengers by whom it was hired. Suppose two Men that are equally Wise, should both of them in a Shipwreck lay hold of the same Plank; may either of them seize upon it forcibly to himself, or should one of them voluntarily yield it to the other? Let one yield to the other, provided *that* other will be more serviceable to the Publick, or there is more depending upon his Life and Preservation. But what if these are equal in either of them; Why then there is no more to be said about it, but it must even be let alone for Chance to determine, as though they should cast Lots, or play at Even and Odd for it. What if a Father should rife Temples, and dig Passages under Ground into the Treasury; should the Son discover him to the Publick Magistrate? No; that were an horrid unnatural Impiety: he should rather on the contrary defend his Father, if any one else should pretend to accuse him. But what! ought not the Interest of my Country be consulted, before that of any one else whatsoever? Yes undeniably, but then it is very much the Interest of your Country, to have Citizens that are dutiful and obedient to their Parents. But if a Father should attempt to make himself King, or any ways endeavour to betray his Country; should a Son in such a Case hold his Tongue and conceal it? In the first place, let him *beg* of his Father to desist: if that does no good, let him proceed to rebuke and even to threaten him about it: but if at last he perceive that it *directly* tends to the Ruin of his Country, he should prefer *its* Safety before that of his Father. Another of the Questions he proposes is this, Suppose a Good Man to receive, by an Oversight, bad Money for good, and afterwards come to understand that it is bad, may he pay it for good, if he owes another any thing? *DIODENES* thinks he may, but *ANTIPATER* not; whom I rather assent to. Suppose a Man be selling a Vessel of Wine, which he knows will not keep; is he bound to tell of this? *DIODENES* thinks he is under no such Obligation; *ANTIPATER* will have it to be every honest Man's Duty. These are the

the things, which whether they are right, and one's Duty or not, is often controverted among the *Stoicks*. In selling a Slave is one bound to declare what his Faults are or not? I do not mean those, which unless they are told, the Law itself commands he shall be returned upon our Hands; but his being a Liar, a Filcher, a Player at Dice, or a Drunkard. One is of Opinion we ought to declare them, and the other not. Should an ignorant Body sell a quantity of Gold, and suppose it to be Copper: is a good Man obliged now to tell him that it is Gold; or may he buy for a Penny what is worth a thousand Pence? It is plain enough by this time what my Thoughts are, and wherein consists the Controverſie between the forementioned Philosophers.

CHAP. XXIV.

Whether a Man is obliged to perform all his Promises or not; though at the Expence of his Life or Reputation. Some Examples upon it.

ARE we bound to perform all those Promises and Bargains, which (in the Prætor's Language) have neither Force nor Fraud in them? Here is a Man, for Example, that has gotten the Dropsy, and another prescribes him an infallible Cure for it, upon Condition that he will never make use of it again. The Man recovers by its Help at present, but falls again some time after into the same Distemper. Suppose now that he, to whom he made such Promise, will by no means allow him to use the Cure again; what would be his Duty in such a Case! Why, since he, who denies him the Request, is inhuman, and it is a Thing will do him no manner of Prejudice, it is the best way to take care of his Life and Safety. A good and wise Man is desired by one, who appoints him his Heir, and leaves him by Will a considerable Estate, that before he enters upon the Possession of it, he should

should dance at Noon-day in the open Streets ; and this he accordingly promises to do, because otherwise the Testator would not make him his Heir? Would you have him perform now what he promised, or not? I could wish that he never had promised it at all, which I think would much better have suited with his Character: But since he *has* done it, if he think it dishonourable to dance so in publick, the best way will be not to stand to such a Promise, provided he takes none of the Money that was left him: Unless the Money may be turned to some very great Benefit and Advantage of the Publick; so that it would be no Disgrace for a Man even to dance, when it brings so much Good to his Country along with it.

C H A P. XXV.

Several other Cases, wherein a Man is not obliged to perform his Promises and Vows; nor to give up a Truss. The Method he designs to take in the following Part of the Work.

Neither is one bound to perform those Promises, which are hurtful and prejudicial to the Persons they were made to. Thus Father PHOEBUS (that we may return to our Fables) promised to grant PHAETON whatsoever he should desire; and the mad young Fellow desired to get up into his Father's Chariot. It was accordingly granted him; but before he could get well to be settled in it, he was struck down with Lightning. How abundantly better had it been, in such a Case, if the Father had refused to perform such a Promise? The same may be said of another, which THESEUS obtained of NEPTUNE: This God had promised to do any three Things for him, whatever he should request: And he requested the Death of his own Son HYPOLITUS, upon a false Suspicion that he had been naught with his Mother-in-Law. He obtained what he asked, which occasioned him very much Sorrow and Affliction,

on. Again, AGAMEMNON had vowed, for a Sacrifice to DIANA, the most beautiful Thing that was born that Year in his whole Dominions. To be as good as his Word, he was forced to offer his Daughter IPHIGENIA, than whom nothing that Year had been born more beautiful. Had not it been better to have broke his Promise, than have done such an horrid and unnatural Action? In some Cases then a Man is not obliged to perform his Promises: No more is he to restore what was given him in Trust. Suppose, for the Purpose, a Man in his Wits had entrusted you with his Sword, and should demand it of you again when he is beside himself; your Duty would be not to give it him again, and if you did, you would be guilty of a very great Error. Again, should a Man put a large Sum of Money in your Hands, and afterwards raise a Rebellion against his Country, would you deliver up your Trust, if demanded it by him? Certainly no; for this would be to act against the publick Interest, which ought to be preferred before every thing else. Thus a great many Things, which are honest of themselves, we may see cease to be so when the Circumstances alter: To perform a Promise, for Instance, to stand to an Agreement, or deliver up a Trust, ought not to be done when they become unprofitable. This may suffice to have been said of those things, which a pretended Wisdom would fain count profitable, though contrary to Justice. But having laid down four general Heads in the First Book, from which all Offices or Duties are derived, I shall discourse upon each of the same in this; and make out, that what is contrary to any of those Virtues, is only in Shew, and not really profitable. Of Prudence then, which a knavish Sort of Cunning endeavours to imitate; as also of Justice, which is never but profitable, we have discoursed already. It remains that we speak of the other two general Heads of Duty; the one of which consists in the Greatness and Excellency of a courageous Soul; and the other in such a Regularity of our Actions, as is conformable to the Precepts of Temperance and Moderation.

C H A P. XXVI.

That nothing can be profitable, which is contrary to the Virtue of Fortitude, shewn from the Examples of Ulysses and Regulus.

ULYSSES thought it would be profitable for him; (if what the Tragedians tell us be true; for HOMER, a Writer of the greatest Authority, never once insinuates any such thing) but the Writers of Tragedy accuse ULYSSES for feigning himself mad, that he might avoid the War; a Design that was by no means honest and creditable: *Well, but it was profitable* (will some one say) *to stay and govern at his own Home, and enjoy himself quietly in his Island Ithaca, together with his Parents, his Wife, and Son. Is there any such Credit in the daily Dangers and Fatigues of War, that you can ever think comparable with living such a Life of Tranquillity and Security?* Yes, I wholly despise and condemn your Security, being fully perswaded that it can never be profitable so long as it is dishonest. Pray what would they have said, do you think, of ULYSSES, suppose he had continued in his pretended Madness? When after his glorious Atchievements in the War, he had yet these Reproaches thrown upon him by AJAX:

*Though, you all know, he first proposed this Oath,
Yet he's the only Man that would have broke it.
He first endeavour'd not to join i'th' War,
Faint-hearted Coward! feigning to be mad.
And had not prudent PALAMEDE found out,
By Cunning, this his impudent Deceit,
The Villian, notwithstanding all the Ties
Of sacred Oaths, had certainly gone off.*

It was much better for him to bear all the Hazards, not of the War only, but of the Sea too, (as at last he did) than not to make one among the rest of the Grecians, then resolving, by Consent, upon a War with the Barbarians. But to remove the Scene from Foreign Countries,

Countries, and fabulous Relations, that we may come nearer home, and to a thing that really happened: M. ATILIUS REGULUS, then a second time Consul, was surprized in *Africk* by XANTIPPUS the *Lacedæmonian*, and made a Prisoner, (AMILCAR, Father of HANNIBAL, being the General of the *Carthaginians*) and was sent by the *Carthaginians* to the Roman Senate, upon solemn Oath given, that, unless some remarkable Prisoners were restored them, he should himself return back again to *Carthage*. Now as soon as this Man arrived at *Rome*, he could not but perceive what appeared to be his Interest, but withal was perswaded (as the Event declared) that it only appeared so. The Cause was thus: Here he might have staid in his Native Country, and have lived at home quietly with his Wife and Children; might have judged his Misfortune, received in the War, no more than what all Men in that State are liable to; and might still have continued in his old Degree of Honour among those of Consular Dignity. *And who can deny now, (will any one say) that all these things are expedient and profitable? Who do you think? Why Greatness of Soul and true Courage deny it. Can you desire any greater and more illustrious Authorities?*

C H A P. XXVII.

What Courage and Greatness of Soul teach us. A Continuation of the Story of Regulus.

THESE are the Virtues, by which we are taught to be afraid of nothing, to despise all the outward Concerns of Life, and count nothing intolerable that can possibly befall a Man. *Well but pray what did this REGULUS do then?* He came into the Senate, and told them what it was he was sent about, and refused to give his own Vote in the Case, forasmuch as he was not to be counted a Senator, as being by Oath under the Enemy's Power. And in his Speech, which he spoke to the Senate upon that Subject, (*Fool that*
ha

he was, some will be ready to say, and an Enemy to his own Interest! he told them, *It was best not to give up their Prisoners; that they were young Men, and might make able Leaders; but that he, for his part, was grown almost useless, and worn away with old Age.* The Senate were so far perswaded by his Speech, that they resolved the Prisoners should be detained in Custody, and he himself returned back again to Carthage; not all the Love which he had for his Country, his Friends and Relations, being able to detain him. And tho' he knew well enough what a barbarous Enemy, and what exquisite Torments he was going to return to; yet he thought it his Duty, whatever came of it, not to violate his Oath. I think he was in a better Condition therefore, even whilst he was murdered by being kept from sleeping, than ever he could have been, had he stayed at home, and lived under the Scandal of being an old Captive, and a perjured Nobleman. *But was not it very great Folly and Madness, if he would not persuade the Releasing of the Prisoners, yet to go and disswade it as much as he could? Pray how Folly and Madness? What though it were conducive to the Good of the Republick? Or can any thing be profitable to a private Citizen, which brings a Disadvantage to the Common-wealth in general?*

C H A P. XXVIII.

To separate Profit from Honesty, is to pervert the first Principles of Nature. All Men naturally desirous of Profit. The Reasons given by those, who think Regulus did ill in returning.

THOSE Men who separate Profit from Honesty, wholly pervert the first Principles of Nature: For we all of us naturally desire our Interest, toward which we are carried with so strong a Bias, as that it is not in our Power to turn the other Way? For who is averse from, or rather, who does not most eagerly follow

low his own Advantage? but since we can find out no real Advantage, except in what is honest, becoming and commendable, therefore we count these the principal Things; and take the Word Profit to signify something which only relates to our outward Necessities, and the supplying of them, without all that glorious and shining Excellence which appears in the Actions of Virtue and Honesty. *But after all is done,* perhaps some Men will say, *pray what is there in an Oath, that he should be afraid thus to break it?* What! was it JUPITER's Anger that he dreaded? But this is agreed on by all Philosophers; not only those who maintain that the Gods lead an idle Life, neither busying themselves, nor disturbing others; but those who affirm they are always busy, and always doing something that relates to the World: In this thing, *I say*, they are all agreed. That the Deity neither hurts nor is angry with any one. But supposing the worst, Pray what Hurt could JUPITER's Vengeance have done REGULUS, greater than what REGULUS did to himself? It could not be any thing of Religion therefore that hindered him from following what appeared to be his Interest. Again, was he afraid of the Baseness and Dishonesty of the Action? *As to that*, in the first place, Always of two Evils chuse the least; and where was any Evil in the Baseness of the Thing, so great as was that of the Torments which he endured? Beside, pray remember that Sentence of Accius, which, however it might be said by an impious King, is yet generally acknowledged to be very well said, who when one told him, *You have broken your Oath to me*; answered, *I neither am, nor have been tied by Oath to any treacherous Deceiver*. Again, they tell us, That as we affirm some Things seem profitable which are not so; so they affirm some Things seem honest which are not so: As this for Example, of returning to be tormented, rather than break one's Oath; which is not honest tho' it may seem to be so; because no Man is obliged to perform that Oath, which was extorted from him by the Force of his Enemies. And lastly they argue, That whatever makes very much for one's Profit and Advantage, there-

thereby becomes honest, though before it did not seem so. This is what is generally brought against REGULUS; but let us see and examine all the Parts of it in Order.

C H A P. XXIX.

He answers the first part of the Arguments brought against Regulus. The Sacredness of an Oath. The Divinity of Faith. Pain none, or at least not the greatest Evil. Dishonesty the greatest, if not only Evil. Faith to be kept even with those who are Treacherous. Oaths made to Enemies should be kept: Not so those made to Pirates, and why. What 'tis to Forswear one's self. The Form of Oaths among the Romans. Laws of War to be kept inviolable.

FIRST then they say, *He could fear no Harm from the Anger of JUPITER, who neither can be angry nor do Harm to any body.* This proves as strongly against all Oaths in general, as it does in particular against this of REGULUS. But the Thing to be considered in Peoples taking of Oaths, is not what Danger they are in, should they break them; but what a sacred and powerful Obligation is laid upon them. For every Oath is a religious Affirmation; and whatever is promised after such a manner, as it were calling God for a Witness to your Words, ought certainly to be performed. For now *Faith and Justice* require it of us, and not any Fear of that Anger of the Gods, which is not incident to their Divine Natures. The *Faith* I mean, of which ENNIUS has got these incomparable Words:

*O FAITH! All-glorious and Divine!
In lofty Temples fit to shine:
Ev'n JOVE himself by thee doth swear!*

Whosoever therefore doth not perform his Oath, affronts the Deity of that Divine FAITH, which was (as CATO in his Speech informs us) set up by our Fathers

in

in the Capitol itself, even next to the Statue of the Great God JUPITER. But, secondly, they tell us, *Supposing JUPITER had been angry with REGULUS, he could not have brought any Evil upon him greater than what REGULUS brought upon himself.* This, I confess, would be very true, if there was no other Evil but only Pain: But *that* is so far from being the greatest Evil, as that it is not so much as any Evil at all, if we may credit some of the chief Philosophers; among whom, I pray you, let REGULUS be counted of *no small Authority*; if I may not rather say of the *greatest and most weighty*: For what greater Testimony can any one desire, than that of a principal Man among the Romans, who rather than be wanting in any Point of his Duty, chose to undergo the most exquisite Torment? *But of two Evils, say they, always chuse the least:* That is in plain Words, *Rather be a Rogue than undergo any Calamity.* Can any Calamity then be greater, than that of Baseness and Injustice? For if even the Filth and Deformity of the *Body* be loathsome and offensive; how much more so must *that* of the *Mind* needs be, when it is covered and polluted with Shame and Dishonesty? Those Philosophers therefore, who discourse of these Things with most Closeness and Severity, venture boldly to affirm, *That nothing is evil but only what is dishonest:* And even those themselves who do it more loosely, yet always acknowledge, *That it is the greatest however of all Evils.* That Saying of the Poet's indeed is good, *I neither am, nor have been tied by Oath to a treacherous Deceiver;* but it is therefore so, because when ATREUS was brought upon the Stage, he was to make him speak that which was suitable to his Character. But if once they begin to lay down this for a Maxim, *That Faith, when given to those who are treacherous, is not to be kept;* they had best have a care that this be not made a Refuge and Cover for Perjury. *As for his Oaths being made to an Enemy;* even War itself has Laws that belong to it; and Faith, except in some very few Cases, is always to be kept even with our greatest Adversaries. For whatever you swear, for Example, in such a Manner, as that your Conscience tells you it ought to be done,
you

you are bound most inviolably to perform it: But where it is otherwise, you do not lie under any such Obligation; and are not perjured, though you should not perform it. Suppose, for the purpose, you had sworn to a Pirate, That you would pay him such a Sum, if he would spare your Life; it would not be Perjury, though you should not pay it him. For a Pirate is by no means a lawful Adversary, but rather a common Pest and Enemy of Mankind; so that no one is obliged to keep his Faith or Oath with him. For to swear to a Thing, and yet not perform it, it is not immediately to *forswear* one's self: But then a Man is properly said to be *perjured*, when he swears upon his Conscience (as our Form runs) to do such and such Things, and yet does not do them. For that of EURIPIDES may be said in some Cases to be very good, *My Tongue indeed swore, but my Conscience did not assent*. But had REGULUS in his Case done any thing contrary to the Laws and Conditions that are kept between Enemies, it had been downright Perjury. For the *Carthaginians*, with whom he had then to do, were a lawful Adversary, between whom and us there is all the Feacial, and several other Laws that are common to Nations. For had it been otherwise, it is certain the Senate would never have delivered up some eminent Persons in Chains to their Enemies.

CHAP. XXX.

Examples of several eminent Romans given up to the Enemy. Answer to the rest of the Arguments brought against Regulus.

BUT they did deliver both LUCIUS VETURIUS and SP. POSTHUMIUS in their second Consulships to their Enemies, the *Samnites*; because being beaten at the Passage of *Caudium*, and the Legions being disarmed and sent away with Disgrace, they had concluded a Peace of their own Heads, without any Orders from

the Senate or People. T. NUMICIUS and Q. MÆLIUS, who were Tribunes of the People at the same time, because by their Authority the Peace was concluded, were likewise delivered; that so we might be freed from any Obligation of keeping it. And all this was done upon the Proposal and Advice of POSTHUMIUS himself, who was the Person delivered. The Case of MANCINUS, a great many Years after, was exactly the same, who having, without any Orders from the Senate, struck up an Alliance with those of *Numantia*, was the first Man that spoke for that Bill in the Senate-house, which by L. FURIUS and SEXT. ATILIUS was carried to the People; and which they agreeing to, he was delivered to the Enemy. He did more honestly than SEXT. POMPEIUS, who being concerned in the same sort of Crime, made Interest to be excused from undergoing the same Punishment, and by that means escaped it. This Man now let the Appearance of Profit prevail over Honesty; but in all the others mentioned, the Authority of Honesty easily carried it from the pretended Profit. But to go on with REGULUS: Another Thing urged by his Adversaries is this, *That he should not have performed what was forcibly put upon him.* As tho' a Man of Courage could be wrought upon by Force. *But why, say they, did he go at all to the Senate, being resolved to dissuade the Delivery of the Captives?* This is to blame him for that, which particularly deserves Commendation: He would not depend upon his own Judgment, but pleading for that which he thought most profitable, left it to be determined by the Judgment of the Senate: And had it not been for his Counsel in the Case, the Prisoners had surely been sent again to *Carthage*, and he remained safe in his native Country: But this he concluded would be a Prejudice to the Publick, and therefore esteemed it to be no more than his Duty to speak what he thought, and endure what might come of it. Lastly, They add, *That whatever makes highly for one's Profit and Advantage, thereby becomes Honest.* I answer, That it may indeed antecedently be such, but can never thereby become such: For nothing is Profitable but what is Honest; and

and things do not *become* Honest by their first being Profitable, but *become* Profitable by their first being Honest. I conclude therefore, That of all those great and wonderful Examples, which might easily be brought upon this Subject, it will be hard to find any more illustrious and commendable than this of REGULUS.

CHAP. XXXI.

Regulus's Returning to Carthage, a Commendation of those Times. The Sacredness of an Oath, tho' extorted by Force, among the ancient Romans. This illustrated by the Example of Pomponius and Manlius.

BUT the only thing that deserves our Admiration, in all this glorious Conduct of REGULUS, is his perswading the Senate not to restore the Captives. As for his returning again to *Carthage*, it is true we admire it in our Days, but at those Times he could not have possibly avoided it. The Age, I think, therefore should rather be commended for *that*, than the Man. For there is nothing our Ancestors took greater Care of, than that the Tye of an Oath should be always held as most sacred and inviolable. This appears plainly from the XII Tables; it appears from those Laws which are called *Sacrata*; it appears from the strict Observation of Leagues, by which we are obliged to keep Faith even with Enemies; and lastly, it appears from the Punishments and Penalties which have been inflicted by the Censors; who in no one Thing have been more severe, than in punishing those who had transgressed their Oaths. M. POMPONIUS, a Tribune of the People, once entered an Action against L. MANLIUS, the Son of AULUS, who had been Dictator, for holding that Office somewhat longer than he should have done. And amongst other things brought in this too against him, That he kept his Son TITUS, who was afterwards TORQUATUS, from Conversation with the World, and had strictly charged him to live soli-

tary in the Country. As soon as the Son heard his Father was in Trouble about this Business, he is reported immediately to have set out for *Rome*, and come early in the Morning to POMPONIUS's House. POMPONIUS was no sooner told of his coming, but he got up immediately; and thinking the Youth, out of Anger, had brought some Complaint against his Father, commanded all others to depart the Room, and him alone to be brought into him. As soon as the young Man was got into the Room, he drew his Sword, and swore he would immediately kill POMPONIUS, unless he would promise him upon Oath to meddle with his Father no further. POMPONIUS, out of sudden Apprehension of the Danger, did swear to him accordingly, and discharged his Father from any more Trouble; having first reported the Matter to the People, and told them why he was forced to let fall his Action. Thus strict and conscientious were People at those Times in observing their Oaths. And this TITUS MANLIUS is that very Person, who being afterwards challenged by a mighty *Frenchman*, killed him in a Duel by the River *Anien*, and was surnamed TORQUATUS from wearing a Chain, (in Latin *Terquis*) which he took from his Neck. The same Man again, in his third Consulship, put to flight and defeated the *Latins* near *Veseris*. He was indeed a very great and extraordinary Person; who as he shewed his Love, in this Case, to his Father, so he was unnaturally cruel to his Son.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Severity of the Romans against the Breakers of Oaths. The Example of ten sent by Hannibal to the Senate, upon Oath of returning. Fraud not sufficient to excuse a Perjury. A resolute Action of the Senate in not redeeming eight Thousand Prisoners. The Conclusion of this Head.

BUT as REGULUS did well in performing his Oath; so those Ten, who, after the Battle at *Canna*, were
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by HANNIBAL sent to the *Roman* Senate, upon Oath of returning to the *Carthaginian* Camp, if they could not obtain an Exchange of Prisoners, did ill if they did not return accordingly: Concerning whom Writers have differed in their Relations. POLYBIUS, an Author of very good Credit, informs us, Ten Persons of considerable Quality were sent to the Senate; and that nine of them did honestly return to the Camp, not having been able to obtain what they went about; but the tenth staid behind and remained at *Rome*. This Man, as soon as he was out of the Camp, pretending he had forgot to take something along with him, went back thither again; as thinking his returning under such a colour, was a very sufficient Performance of his Oath. But certainly he was mistaken; for Cunning is so far from excusing a Perjury, that it aggravates it rather, and makes it the more criminal. This therefore was no more than a foolish Piece of Craftiness impudently pretending to pass for Prudence: whereupon the Senate took care to order, that my crafty Gentleman should be sent back in Fetters again to HANNIBAL. But the gloriousst Action of the Senate was this; HANNIBAL had eight thousand of our Soldiers his Prisoners, not such as had either been taken in Battle, or had fled from any imminent Danger of their Lives; but were left in the Camp by PAULUS and VARRO, the then two Consuls. The Senate decreed that these should not be ransomed, though it might have been done with a small Sum of Money; for no other end but to let our Soldiers see, that either they must resolve to conquer, or die. Upon the News of which, as the same Author tells us, HANNIBAL presently began to be disheartned, when he saw that the Senate and People of *Rome* had so great Resolution even in the midst of their Misfortunes. Thus, we see, Honesty gets the better in the Comparison, against that which has only the Appearance of Profit. But ACILIUS, who has written an History in *Greek*, says, more of them returned under this Pretence to the Camp, hoping by such a Trick to get quit of their Oaths; and that they were all of them branded with Shame and Dishonour by the Censors. But

let us now put an End to this third Head; since from what has been said it is apparently manifest, that whatever is contrary to the Virtue of *Fortitude*; that is to say, whatever is done with a timorous, mean, disheartned, abject Spirit, can never be really and truly Profitable, because it is wicked, disgraceful and odious. And such would this Action of *REGULUS* have been, had he either, in delivering his Sense about the Captives, spoke what was for his *own*, not the *Publick* Security; or afterwards chosen to remain at Home, instead of returning to fulfil his Oath.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Nothing contrary to Temperance, &c. can be truly profitable. Who those Philosophers were, that made Happiness and Misery consist in Pleasure and Pain. This Opinion ruins all Virtue, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice: However these Philosophers endeavour to clear themselves of this Imputation; but cannot get well off. Pleasure opposite to Honesty. The Absurdity of those, who would have made Happiness to consist in both these. A short Recapitulation of this last Book. How far Pleasure may be allowed. A Conclusion, by way of Exhortation to his Son.

WE have now finished our third Head; the fourth and last remains only to be spoke to, which contains in it Decency, Modesty, Moderation, Continence, and Temperance. And can any thing be Profitable that is opposite to a Train of such excellent Virtues? There have been however a Sect of Philosophers, Scholars of *ARISTIPPUS*, who were called *Cyrenaicks*; and others, who had the Name of *Annicerians* given them, that affirm all Good to consist in Pleasure, and count Virtue itself *therefore* only desirable, because of some Pleasure which it brings along with it. But these being now almost worn out of Date, *EPICURUS* is mightily come into Vogue, the great Supporter, and

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as it were, second Founder of the same Opinions. With these we must fight (as they say) with might and main, if ever we think of supporting the Cause, and maintaining the Interest of Virtue and Honesty. For if what METRODORUS has written pass for Truth, *That whatever can truly be called our Profit, nay, and all the Welfare and Happiness of Life, consists in a firm Constitution of Body, and a well-grounded Hope of its lasting Continuance*: it is certain *this Profit, nay, this sovereign Profit* (for such they account it) must sometimes be set in opposition to Honesty. For what, in the first place, will be the Office of *Prudence*? only to cater and look about for Pleasures. How miserable a Case is that Virtue in, which is thus made a Servant and Pander to Pleasure! But what shall be her Business in this Office? to taste and distinguish ingeniously betwixt Pleasures. Supposing this to be a pleasant Business, it is certainly the most scandalous one that could ever have been thought on. Again, can he that makes Pain be the greatest Evil, have ever such a Virtue as *Fortitude* in him, the very Nature of which consists wholly in despising of Pains and Difficulties? I know EPICURUS upon several Occasions, and this in particular, speaks very courageously as to the matter of Pain; but we must not consider so much what *is* said, as what *ought to be said* by a Man of his Principles, who makes Pleasure and Pain to be the ultimate Bounds of Man's Happiness and Misery. So again, if you would hear him about *Continence* and *Temperance*, he tells you abundance of extraordinary things in a great many Places; but he is gravelled (as we speak) and can never be able to acquit himself handsomely. For with what Face of Reason can he commend *Temperance*, who places his Happiness in the Employment of Pleasures? When the sensual Appetite follows after Pleasures, and it is the Business of *Temperance* to correct that Appetite. But still they endeavour, in each of these Virtues, to bring themselves off by one little Shift or other: Thus *Prudence* is admitted, and defined to be *The Skill of supplying us with Pleasures, and defending us from Pains*: And they make our *Fortitude* as well as they can, by saying it

consists in despising Death, and enduring Torments. They do bring in a sort of *Temperance* too, though not without a great deal of Straining and Difficulty; but however they make a shift, after some fashion, by saying, they count it the greatest Pleasure if they can but be exempt from Pain and Uneasiness. Thus these three Virtues stand up pretty well; but *Justice*, the fourth, totters mightily with them, or rather indeed is quite fallen to the Ground; with all those Duties, which relate to the Maintenance of human Society: For what Kindness, Liberality, Affability, or Friendship can there be amongst those, who desire these Virtues not purely for themselves, but only in Relation to their Pleasure or Advantage? To make short then, I shall only say, that as I have shewn before, That nothing can be profitable which is contrary to Honesty, so now I do affirm, that Pleasure in general is contrary to Honesty, I the more blame therefore DINOMACHUS and CALLIPHO, who thought this Dispute might be brought to an Issue, if they joined both Pleasure and Virtue together, like a Man and a Beast as it were in the same Yoke. For Virtue can never admit of this Conjunction, but abhors and disdains it; nor can ever the sovereign Good and Evil, which must be one single and simple thing, be made up and compounded of such different Principles. But of this, which is a thing of the greatest Moment, I have written at large in another Work. Let us now return to our present Subject: What has been said in this last Book, I hope is enough to let any one see, how it is his Duty to determine his Choice, if that which seems useful and expedient for him, should come into Competition with that which is honest. But if it should be said, that even Pleasure carries with it the Appearance of Profit; let it also be considered, that it never can be brought to an Agreement with Honesty: For the most that can possibly be said for Pleasure (that we may not seem wholly to exclude it) is, that it serves by way of Sauce, to give a Relish to things, but has no true Profit or Advantage in itself.

This is the Present, dear Son MARK, that your Father sends you, and in my Opinion it is a very good one; but

but that will depend upon the Use you shall make of it. However entertain, among CRATTIPUS's Lectures, these three Books, and shew them at least the Civility due to Strangers. Had it been my Fortune to have come to *Athens* (which had surely been done, if I had not been recalled by the Cries of my Country) you might then perhaps sometimes have heard my Lectures: However, since now, in perusing these Sheets, you will have my Voice, as it were, by Proxy; pray bestow upon them as much time as you can, and I am sure you can as much as you please. When I hear you take a Pleasure in this Sort of Studies, it will delight me to talk to you (which I hope may be speedily) Face to Face, or however to write to you, though at never so great a Distance. In the mean time adieu, my dear CICERO, and assure your self, that *though* no one in the World is more dear to me than you are, yet you will hereafter be much more so, if I find you take Delight in such Writings and Instructions.



I N D E X.

 The first Figure refers to one of the three Books; the second, &c. to the Chapter of that Book.

A.

A Cademicks, little differing from the Peripateticks 1, 1. 3, 4. have a right to treat about Duties 1, 2. how differing from the Scepticks, and why they dispute against every thing 2, 2. formerly the same with the Peripateticks 3, 4. are not tied to a Set of Opinions 3, 4.

Accusing, how far allowable 2, 14.

Acilius the Historian 3, 32.

Acknowledgment, a sufficient return of a Kindness 2, 20.

Action gives a true Value to Virtue 1, 6. to take place of Speculation 1, 6. 43, 44, 45. not to be ventured on, if we doubt of its Honesty 1, 9. should be free from Rashness, &c. 1, 19. three Rules to be observed for keeping Decorum in our Actions 1, 39. Order and Regularity to be observed in our Actions 1, 40. these depend upon Time and Place 1, 40. good Actions ill applied become bad ones 2, 18.

Actors choose the Parts fittest for their Humours 1, 31. respect Modesty 1, 35.

Admiration, how moved in Men 2, 10, 11.

Advantages tempt Men to be Rogues 3, 10.

Advice

I N D E X.

- Advice of Friends to be asked in Prosperity* 1, 26. of experienced Men in doubt 1, 41. Rules about taking this Advice 1, 41.
- Advocates may plead for what is not really true* 2, 14.
- Ædiles who, and their Magnificence* 2, 16.
- Affability wins Peoples Love* 2, 14.
- Affectation odious* 1, 36.
- Africanus his Saying, that Men grow proud, &c.* 1, 26. his Retirement and saying, that he was never less idle, &c. 3, 1. *Afric. the younger razes Carthage and Numantia* 1, 22. *Son of Paullus* 1, 33. not to be corrupted by Money 2, 22.
- Agamemnon sacrificed his Daughter* 3, 25.
- Agreement between the several Orders, the Support of a State* 3, 22.
- Agriculture commended* 1, 42.
- Ajax, his Character* 1, 31.
- Alexander Pheræus the Tyrant* 2, 7.
- Alexander the Great, often guilty of great Vices* 1, 26. chidden by his Father for giving Money 2, 15.
- Ambition a great Cause of Injustice* 1, 8, 19. is generally in Men of the greatest Souls *ibid.* is contrary to true Courage 1, 19, 20. robs a Man of his Liberty 1, 20. is destructive to a State 1, 25. 3, 21.
- Anger against Adversaries to be avoided* 1, 25. especially in punishing 1, 25. also in common Discourse, in Chiding, and in Quarrels 1, 38.
- Annicerian Philosophers* 3, 33.
- Anothers Right, see Take.*
- Antipater the Stoick* 2, 24. 3, 14.
- Apelles's Venus* 3, 2.
- Applause, the desire of it to be avoided* 1, 19, 29.
- Aquillius's Formulæ* 3, 14, 15.
- Aratus the Sicyonian* 2, 23.
- Aristippus* 1, 41. 3, 33.
- Aristo* 1, 2.
- Aristotle neglected Eloquence* 1, 1. his Opinion about Shows to the People, &c. 2, 16. makes Honesty far outweigh all other Goods 3, 8.
- Armies of little use abroad, without Prudence at home, &c.* 1, 22.

Assent

I N D E X.

Assent not to be given hastily 1, 6.
Athens a famous University 1, 1. 3, 2.
Athenians make a cruel Edict 3, 11. *for sake their City for fear of the Persians*, *ibid.* *reject a dishonest Proposal*, &c. *ibid.*
Avarice one great Cause of Injustice 1, 7, 8. *a Sign of a narrow and sordid Spirit* 1, 20. *Magistrates should be free from Suspicion of it* 2, 21. *is destructive to a State* 2, 22.

B.

B *Aardylis the Illyrian* 2, 11.
Bargains should be made at a Word 3, 15.
Beauty of two Sorts 1, 36. *how to be gotten* *ibid.*
Becoming, see *Decency*.
Benefits, how we should judge of their Value 1, 15. *done either by our Money or Industry* 2, 15. *relate either to the Republick, or to Particulars* 2, 19, &c. *upon whom best bestowed* 2, 18, 20.
Body should be enured to Labour 1, 23. *the Care Nature has taken in its Fabrick* 1, 35.
Bounty 12. see *Liberality*.
Boys not allowed all Sorts of Plays 1, 29.
Bragging very unbecoming 1, 38.
Bribery in Magistrates the Ruin of a Republick 2, 21, 22. *Laws made against it by the Romans* 2, 21.
Brutes how differing from Men 1, 4, &c. *we often talk of their Courrage, but not Justice*, &c. 1, 16.
Brutus deposed Collatinus 3, 10.
Building, its Measures and End 1, 39.
Buyers should not use Arts to beat down the Prices 3, 15. see *Seller*.

C.

C *Æsar, Brother of Catulus, a facetious Man* 1, 37.
Cæsar broke through the most sacred Ties for the sake of the Empire 1, 8. *Robbed some that he might be generous to others* 1, 14. *rent and mangled his Country* 1, 17. *was killed for his Tyranny* 2, 7. *triumphs over Mar-*
seilles,

I N D E X.

- feilles, &c. 2, 8. *his Party was wicked and detestable* 2, 13. *loved Villany, though he got nothing by it* 2, 24. *makes himself King of the Romans, &c.* 3, 21.
- Callicratidas *too careful of his own Honour* 1, 24. *a Lover of Simplicity* 1, 30.
- Calling, *see* Life.
- Callipho and Dinomachus *join Pleasure and Virtue* 3, 33.
- Cannius's Bargain 3, 14.
- Carriage toward all Men *to be taken care of* 1, 28, 35.
- Carthaginians *treacherous* 1, 12.
- Cato Censorius, *his Letter to Poppilius* 1, 11. *caused the third Carthaginian War,* 1, 23. *his Apothegms* 1, 29. *his Answer about managing an Estate* 2, 25.
- Cato, Father to Uticensis, *his Determination of a Case* 3, 16.
- Cato Uticensis's Genius 1, 31. *too headstrong in standing up for the Interest of the Publick* 3, 22.
- Catulus *not inferiour to Pompey* 1, 22. *Catuli counted the best Speakers* 1, 37.
- Chiding *sometimes necessary* 1, 38. *Rules to be observed in it,* *ibid.*
- Children *naturally loved* 1, 4.
- Chrysippus's excellent Saying 3, 10.
- Cicero's Service to his Countrymen by Writing 1, 1. *assumes to himself the Virtues of an Orator, &c.* *ibid.* *his prudent Management of the Republick* 1, 22. 2, 24. *got his Preferments by all the Votes* 2, 17. *betakes himself to Retirement* 3, 1. *designed to have gone to Athens* 3, 33.
- Cimbers and Celtibers 1, 12.
- Cimon of Athens's Hospitality 2, 18.
- Circumstances of Men *to be regarded in giving* 1, 8. 2, 18. *make that not to be a Crime, which usually is one* 3, 4.
- Cities, *in taking them nothing to be done cruelly, &c.* 1, 24. *the great use of them* 2, 4. *why at first built* 1, 21, 22.
- Citizens Duties 1, 34
- Claudius Centumalus 3, 16.
- Clemency, *how far laudable* 1, 15.
- Cleombrotus *beat by Epaminondas* 1, 24.
- Cloaths; *only Health to be regarded in them* 1, 30. *Moderation to be observed in the Fineness of them* 1, 36.
- Clownish.

I N D E X.

- Clownishness to be avoided* 1, 35, 36.
Common; all things at first were so 1, 7. *what things are common to all* 1, 16.
Company; a Man would be weary of his Life without it 1, 43. *to keep Company with good and wise Men recommends young People* 2, 13.
Conceal, how differing from not to tell 3, 12. *what it is* 3, 13.
Concord a Pillar of any State 2, 22.
Confidence, see Trust.
Constantia what it is 1, 20.
Contemplation should give place to Action 1, 4, 6, 43, 44, 45.
Copulation, the Desire of it natural to all Animals 1, 4.
Corinth razed by the Romans 1, 11. 3, 11.
Correction, see Chiding, Punishment.
Covetousness, see Avarice.
Countenance to be kept always the same, without Dejection 1, 26.
Counterfeit; nothing can be lasting that is such 2, 12.
Country claims a share in us 1, 8. *the Love we have for it swallows up all other Loves* 1, 17. *their Wickedness who injure it* *ibid.* *every one that is able ought to serve it* 1, 20. *should be preferred even before Parents* 1, 17, 45. 3, 23.
Courage is a Virtue contending for Honesty 1, 19. *an Enemy to Treachery, &c.* *ibid.* *to Desire of Applause* 1, 20. *consists in two things* *ibid.* *is obtained by the Mind, not the Body* 1, 23. *in War recommends young Men* 2, 13. *teaches us to fear nothing, &c.* 3, 27. *nothing profitable that is contrary to it* 3, 26, &c.
Craft, see Cunning.
Crassus Marc. his Saying about Riches 1, 8. *made Heir by a false Will* 3, 18. *an ill Man* 3, 19.
Crassus Luc. an Orator 1, 37. *got Honour by an Accusation* 2, 13.
Crassus the Wealthy, Ædile 2, 16.
Cratippus, who he was 1, 1. 2, 2.
Cruelty most contrary to Nature 2, 11.
Cunning far from true Wisdom 1, 19. 2, 3. 3, 17. *the great Mischief of it* 3, 17. *doth not excuse from Perjury, but rather aggravates it* 3, 32.

Custom

I N D E X.

Custom and Civil Constitutions to be followed 1, 41. *some may act against them, and others not* *ibid.*
Cynicks argue against Modesty 1, 35. *to be wholly rejected* 1, 41.
Cyrenaick Philosophers 3, 23.

D.

Dancing in the Streets scandalous 3, 19, 25.
 Danger how far to be undertaken 1, 24. *we should endanger our selves rather than the Publick* *ibid.*
Debts forgiven, &c. 2, 22, 23. *Governours should hinder People from running into Debt* 2, 24.
Deceit frees a Man from being bound by his Promise 1, 10.
Decency observed by Man only 1, 4. *inseparable from Honesty* 1, 27. *is seen in all the Parts of Honesty* *ibid.* *draws the Approbation of all* 1, 28. *relates both to Body and Mind* *ibid.* *nothing Decent that is contrary to a Man's Genius* 1, 31. *Decency of Living according to Universal Nature* 1, 28, 29, 30. *according to each Man's particular one* 1, 30, 31. *according to one's Place or Station in the World* 1, 32. *is seen in our Words, Actions, &c.* 1, 35. *in our Hands, Eyes, &c.* *ibid.* *consists in three things* *ibid.*
Decorum of the Poets 1, 28.
Defending, more laudable than to Accuse 2, 14. *to defend a guilty Person lawful* *ibid.*
Define; the Subject of a Discourse ought to be defined at the beginning 1, 2.
Deliberation, five Heads of it 1, 3. *in some Cases sinful* 3, 4, 8, &c.
Demetrius Phalerius who he was 1, 1. *blames Pericles* 2, 17.
Demetrius forsaken by the Macedonians 2, 7.
Demosthenes a Hearer of Plato 1, 1. *at what Age he began his Study* 2, 13.
Desire of Riches, &c. *see Avarice, Ambition.*
Despising different from having an ill Opinion of 2, 10.
Dicæarchus's Book about the Destruction of Men 2, 5.
Difficult Subject, see Study. Difficulty makes a thing more honourable 1, 12. Diogenes

I N D E X.

- Diogenes and Antipater dispute* 3, 12, 13.
Dion taught by Plato 1, 44.
Dionysius the Sicilian Tyrant 2, 7.
Direct a wandering Traveller 1, 16.
Discourse; variety in Mens Ways of it, 1, 30. *not to be dressed up with Greek Expressions* 1, 31. *of two sorts* 1, 37. 2, 14. *common Discourse should be easie, &c. ibid. free from Passion, &c.* 1, 38. *should be agreeable to the Subject we discourse upon* 1, 37, 40.
Disputing of two sorts, by Reason and by Force 1, 11.
Diffimulation should be excluded 3, 15.
Division should take in the whole Matter divided 1, 3.
Dolus malus what 3, 14. *punished by the Civil Laws* 3, 15.
Donations to the People, when allowable 2, 16, 17.
Doubt; We should do nothing, of which we doubt whether it is Honest or not 1, 9, *in Cases of Doubt ask experienced Mens Advice* 41.
Duties: the whole Subject of them consists of two Parts 1, 3. *middle and perfect ones ibid.* 3, 3, 4. *incumbent on us in every part of our Lives* 1, 2. *greater ones to take place before less* 1, 10. *Duty to Parents adorns a young Man* 2, 13.

E.

- E**ducation of Youth a laudable Employment 1, 42. *makes many useful Men, &c.* 1, 44.
Effeminacy to be avoided 1, 4. *see Niceneſs.*
Eloquence preferable to acute Thinking 1, 44. *its great Force, &c.* 2, 14. *its Downfal in Rome* 2, 19. *gives one Opportunities of obliging many ibid.*
Enemies, by the old Romans, called Strangers 1, 12. *Justice to be kept towards them* 1, 11, 12. 3, 29. *difference of Carriage to be observed toward them* 1, 12. *none to be reckoned Enemies, but who take up Arms against the State* 1, 25.
Ennius 1, 8, 16.
Epicurus ruins all Virtue 1, 2. 3, 33. *makes Happiness consist in Pleasure* 3, 33. *endeavours to bring himself off, but in vain, ibid.*

Eſtate,

I N D E X.

- Estate, how to be gotten, bettered, &c.* 1, 26. 2, 24, 25.
it is a scandal to ruin it by Neglect 2, 18. *that the best, that can be left to a Son* 1, 33.
Evenness of Temper, a part of Courage 1, 26.
Evils; the least to be chosen 3, 1, 28, 29. *those of Body and Fortune less than those of the Soul* 3, 5.
Euripides's Phœnissæ 3, 21.
Exactness to be avoided in Dealing with others 2, 18. *Exercise requisite to make Men perfect* 1, 18.
Extraordinary things move Admiration 2, 10.

F.

- Q** *Fabius Labeo's Trick* 1, 10. *Fab. Maximus's wife Delaying* 1, 24. *his Subtily and Cunning* 1, 30.
Fabricius's Justice 1, 13. 3, 4, 22.
Faith, the Foundation of Justice 1, 7. *set up in the Capitol next to Jupiter* 3, 29. *to be kept with Enemies, ibid. see Oaths.*
Fathers often followed in course of Life by their Sons, 1, 32. *Rules to be observed in imitating them* 1, 33. *whether to be accused by their Sons, should they plot against the State* 3, 23.
Fear, one Cause of Injustice 1, 7. *Promises made thro' Fear not binding* 1, 10. *an improper way of getting Men to be of our Side; and the ill Consequences of it* 2, 7, 8.
Pecial Law of the Romans 1, 11. 3, 29.
Fides derived by the Stoicks 1, 7. *Ex fide bona, a Form in Law* 3, 17.
Fighting, when laudable 1, 23.
Fimbria, Judge in a Case 3, 19.
Flatterers to be avoided 1, 26. *Estates got by Flattery scandalous* 3, 18.
Force and Fraud, the two ways of injuring Men; the latter more odious 1, 13. *a courageous Man cannot be forced* 3, 31.
Forms in Judgment 3, 15. *the general Form or Rule* 3, 5.
Fortune must yield to Nature 1, 33. *her Influence upon the good or ill Success of Actions* 2, 6. *Seditions will never be wanting, while Men hope to make Fortunes* by

I N D E X.

by them 2, 8. to be transported with good or ill Fortune, shews a mean Spirit 1, 26.
 Freedom; wherein it consists 1, 20.
 Fretfulness upon unseasonable Visits, &c. to be avoided 1, 25.
 Friends necessary for all 2, 8. all common among Friends 1, 16. the Counsel of Friends should be asked 1, 26.
 Men are born for their Friends, as well as themselves 1, 8. Corrections, Counsel, &c. due among Friends 1, 17. how much may be done for the sake of a Friend 3, 10. Damon and Pythias two Friends, *ibid.* Closeness of Union between Friends 1, 17.
 Friendship makes many become one 1, 17. is cemented by likeness of Manners, *ibid.* to be broken off by little and little 1, 33.

G.

Gate, should not be too slow, &c. 1, 36.
 Generals of the Romans delivered to their Enemies 3, 30.
 Genius, see Nature.
 Geometricians Method 3, 7.
 Gentile Fests 1, 29. Carriage 1, 35.
 Glory made up of three Ingredients 2, 9. Cicero wrote two Books about it, *ibid.* must be used with Discretion; and what the shortest Cut to it 2, 12, 13. not to be gotten by counterfeiting 2, 12. but by Justice 2, 13. cannot be durable unless founded upon Virtue 2, 20. inconsistent with Wickedness 3, 22.
 Gods; Duties to them to be performed first 1, 45. how their Favour may be procured 2, 3. they never hurt *ibid.* are never angry 3, 28, 29.
 Good Fortune; it is a sign of a low Spirit to be transported with it 1, 26.
 Good Men so called from Justice 1, 7. 2, 11. who 3, 15, 19. very hard to be found, *ibid.* it is always profitable to be one, *ibid.* Good Men desire Honesty, not Secrecy 3, 9.
 Good-Will, see Love.
 Government of a State like the Office of a Guardian 1, 25. the several Duties of those that govern 2, 21, &c.

Gownmen

I N D E X.

- Gownmen as useful as Soldiers* 1, 22, 23.
Gracchus Father of the two Gracchi 2, 12. *his Sons justly slain*, *ibid.* *ruined by their levelling Principles* 2, 23.
Gratidianus 3, 16, 20.
Gratitude a most necessary Duty, in which we should imitate fruitful Fields 1, 15. *all People hate one that is not Grateful* 2, 18.
Greatness of Soul, natural to Man 1, 4. *what it appears in* 1, 5. *inclines Men to Ambition* 1, 8, 19. *is often too hot* 1, 15. *usually made most Account of in the World* 1, 18. *necessary for Statesmen more than Philosophers* 1, 20. *its Description, and how it differs from Greatness of Understanding* 1, 23. *seen even in a retired Life* 1, 26. *is Savageness, if not accompanied with Justice* 1, 44. *see Courage.*
Greek and Latin to be joined 1, 1. *to bring Greek into Discourse, ridiculous* 1, 31.
Guilty Persons may sometimes be defended 2, 14.
Gyges's Ring 3, 9, 19.

H.

- H***Annibal Cruel* 1, 12. *sends ten to Rome after the Fight at Cannæ* 1, 13. 3, 32.
Hastiness in giving assent, a Fault in the search of Truth 1, 7. *the Passions should not through haste out-run Reason* 1, 29.
Hate, able to ruin the greatest Power 2, 7, 8.
Haughtiness in Prosperity to be avoided 1, 26.
Health how to be preserved 2, 24.
Hecaton the Rhodian 3, 15, 23.
Help: not to help the Injured if we can, is Injustice 1, 7.
Hercules sees two ways 1, 32. *is placed among the Gods* 3, 5.
Herillus exploded 1, 2.
Herodotus the Historian 2, 12.
Hesiod's Rule 1, 15.
Hire, the worst means of winning Men to our side 2, 6.
Honestum, whence it results 1, 4, 5. *laudable in itself, ibid.* *would make the World in love with it, could it*
be

I N D E X.

- be seen 1, 5. shews itself by its own Brightness, 1, 9. entitles a Man to our Liberality, 1, 14, 15. 2, 20. more especially deserves our Study 2, 3. naturally pleaseth Men, 2, 9. is the same with Profit 3, 3. 7, 8, &c. honest Man, who 3, 19.
- Honour; the Desire of it tempts Men to Injustice 3, 20.
- Hortensius *Ædile* 2, 15. uses a false Will 3, 18.
- Hospitality to be kept by great Men 1, 39. praised deservedly by Theophrastus 2, 18.
- Hostis, its Signification among the old Romans 1, 12.
- Hot Counsels and Designs preferred by some 1, 24.
- House, of what Sort becomes a great Man 1, 39. the Master should be an Honour to his House *ibid.*
- Humility requisite in Prosperity 1, 26.
- Humours, see Nature.
- Hunting, a Manly Recreation 1, 29.
- Hypocrisy should be banished out of the World 3, 14.

I.

- T**esting in what Kind and Degree allowable 1, 29. Inheritance; the best a Father can leave to his Son, is the Fame of his Virtues 1, 33.
- Injuries, two Ways of doing them 1, 13. injuring others most contrary to Nature 3, 5.
- Injustice of two Sorts, and the Causes of each 1, 7, 8, 9. the greatest, which is done under the Mask of Honesty 1, 13.
- Innocent Persons never to be accused 2, 14.
- Interest draws one way, and Honesty another 1, 3. no base Thing can be any one's Interest 3, 19. should be measured by Justice 3, 21.
- Isocrates contrary to Aristotle 1, 1.
- Judges Duty, 2, 14.
- Justice the most splendid Virtue 1, 7. makes Men be called Good, *ibid.* 2, 11. the Duties of it 1, 7. is alter'd upon an Alteration of the Circumstances 1, 10. to be kept toward those that have injur'd us, and Enemies 1, 11. toward the meanest, such as Slaves 1, 13. is the only way of obtaining our Ends 2, 3. makes Men trust us more than Prudence 2, 9. no

I N D E X.

9. no Man just, who is afraid of Death, &c. 2, 11. Justice gets us all the three Ingredients of Glory, *ibid.* is necessary for all Men, even Pirates 2, 11. Kings were at first chose, and Laws made, for the sake of it 2, 12. no Credit can be lasting, that is not built upon it 2, 20. is the Queen of all Virtues 3, 6. nothing profitable that is contrary to it 3, 22, &c.

K.

K Indnesses should be done to Honest rather than Great Men 2, 20. not to be done to one by injuring another, *ibid.* See Benefits.

Kings formerly chose for their Justice 2, 12. no Faith in case of a Kingdom 1, 8. Justice violated for a Kingdom 3, 21. many treacherous, and but few faithful to Kings, *ibid.*

Knowledge how desired, &c. by Men 1, 4, 6. must give place to Action 1, 43. is a barren Accomplishment without Justice 1, 44. that of Honesty best 2, 2, 3, 3, 2.

Knavery to be avoided 2, 3. few Actions wholly free from it 3, 15. See Dolus malus.

L.

Lacedæmonians; Plato's Observation of them 1, 19. ruined by Epaminondas 1, 24. forsaken by their Allies 2, 7. murder their King Agis, &c. 2, 23.

Lætorius's Law 3, 15.

Language, see Discourse.

Largi, of two sorts 2, 16.

Latin to be joyned with Greek 1, 1.

Laws; a malicious Interpretation of them a means of Roguery 1, 10. punish Offenders according to Justice 1, 25. why first invented 2, 12. use the same Language to all Conditions *ibid.* the Knowledge of them creditable at Rome 2, 19. gives a Man Opportunities of obliging *ibid.* the End and Design of them 3, 5. how they root out Frauds 3, 17. the Law of Nations different from that of particular Cities *ibid.* Roman Law taken from Nature, and its Excellence *ibid.*

I N D E X.

- ibid.* Law of Nature takes in all Men 3, 6. Law-suits to be avoided, 2, 18.
- Learners how best corrected 1, 41.
- Learning; who may be allowed to give themselves up to the Study of it 1, 20. is a Pleasure, not a Labour, 3, 2.
- Letters, how to be expressed 1, 37.
- Levelling Estates destructive, &c. 2, 21, &c.
- Liberality: Three Cautions to be observed in it 1, 14 2, 25. must be governed by Justice *ibid.* to give to one what is taken from another, not Liberality *ibid.* to whom it should be most shewn 1, 15, 18. 2, 18, 20. moves the Peoples Love 2, 9, 18. consists in doing Kindnesses either by Money or Labour; the latter preferable 2, 15. has got no bottom *ibid.* how the Liberal dispose of their Money 2, 16.
- Liberty ought to be most of all contended for 1, 20. wherein it consists *ibid.* bites deeper after she has been chained 2, 7.
- Life of Retirement, and that of Publick Business compared 1, 21. several Men take several ways of Life 1, 32. the difficulty of choosing a way of Life; and what chiefly to be regarded in it 1, 32, 33. should not easily be changed 1, 33. how such Change should be made *ibid.*
- Little Indecencies especially to be avoided 1, 40. in the least things we observe what is becoming 1, 41.
- Love of themselves and Offspring in all Animals 1, 4.
- Love a stronger Motive to Obedience than Fear, 2, 7, 8. how to be gained of the People 2, 9. by what we are to judge of Mens Love to us 1, 15. we should do most for those, by whom we are loved most *ibid.* general Love, and that of Friendship, how far necessary 2, 8.
- Lucullus magnificent in Building 1, 39.
- Lycurgus the Law-giver of Sparta 1, 22.
- Lying abominable 1, 42. 3, 14. should be banished from all Commerce 3, 15. is inconsistent with the Character of a good Man 3, 20.
- Lysander enlarged the Spartan Empire 1, 22. Crafty 1, 30. the Ephore banished 2, 23.
- Lylis Master of Epaminondas 1, 44.

I N D E X.

M.

- M**acedonians desert Demetrius 2, 7. Paullus took the Treasure of Macedon 2, 22.
- Magistrates Duties 1, 24, 25, 34. 2, 21, &c.
- Mamercus put by the Consulship 2, 17.
- Man; how different from Brutes 1, 4, 30. not born for himself alone 1, 7. all things on Earth made for him, say the Stoicks *ibid.* we should shew a respect for all Men 1, 28, 36. and desire to be thought well of by them *ibid.* some are Men in Name only 1, 30. Men may be allowed some Ornaments; but must avoid Niceness 1, 36. naturally love Society 1, 43, 44. do the most Good and Harm to one another 2, 3, 4, 5. to procure their Love the chief of Virtue 2, 5. by what means they are drawn to be for us 2, 6. every Man should help any other, because he is a Man 3, 6.
- Manlius Luc. and Titus 3, 31.
- Matius made Consul, &c. 3, 20. Marius Gratidianus 3, 16, 20.
- Marriage the closest Bond of Society 1, 17.
- Medes chose the justest Men Kings 2, 12.
- Merchandise, how far creditable 1, 42.
- Merchant of Corn's Case 3, 12, 23.
- Merits of the Receiver to be considered in giving; of four sorts 1, 14.
- Metellus accused by Marius 3, 20. and Africanus's Disfent 1, 25.
- Metrodorus's Opinion about Happiness 3, 33.
- Milo got great Honour 2, 17.
- Mind of Man always in motion 1, 6. consists in Reason and Appetite 1, 28, 36. Decency to be kept in its motions 3, 36. Filthiness of the Mind more loathsome than of the Body 3, 29.
- Moderation what 1, 40. is best in most things 1, 36.
- Modesty, Bashfulness, &c. 1, 27. the Duties of them different from those of Justice 1, 28. forbids to do or name some things 1, 35. the Cynicks argue against it *ibid.* nothing virtuous or becoming without it, 1, 41. sets off Eloquence, especially in young Men 2, 14.
- Money: See Hire, Riches, &c. those tryed with Fire, who

I N D E X.

who have withstood its Temptations 2, 11. *how best laid out* 2, 16, 17, 18. *bad Money should not be put away* 3, 23.
Motives drawing Men to favour us, &c. 2, 6.
Mummius took Corinth, &c. 2, 22.
Musicians discover the least Faults in Musick 1, 40, 41.

N.

N*Africa killed T. Gracchus* 1, 22.
Nature should be taken for Guide, and then we cannot err 1, 28. *Pleasures, &c. unworthy Man's Nature* 1, 30. *variety of Mens particular Natures* *ibid.* *every one should follow his own Nature; and how far* 1, 31. *nothing becoming that is contrary to it* *ibid.* *its great influence on our Actions* *ibid.* *has greater sway than Fortune* 1, 23. *directs to Modesty* 1, 35. *is both an Human and Divine Law* 3, 5. *enjoyns each Man to help another* 3, 6. *always desires what is becoming* 3, 8. *to live according to Nature, the Stoical chief Good* 3, 3.
Necessity, not the Motive to Society among Men, 1, 44.
Niceness in Carriage 1, 35. *Dress, &c.* 1, 36.
Nola and Naples quarrel about their Bounds 1, 10.
Non putaram, a Fool's shift 1, 23.

O.

O*aths given to Soldiers* 1, 11. *what is to be considered in Oaths* 1, 13. 3, 29. *I am not tied by Oath to a Deceiver* 3, 28, 29. *Oath is a religious Affirmation, &c.* 3, 29. *the Sacredness of them amongst the old Romans* 3, 31. *not eluded by shifts* 1, 13. 3, 32.
Obseene Jestings 1, 29. *Talking discovers ill Inclinations, &c.* 1, 35.
Obscure Subjects to be neglected 1, 6.
Offence: a fear of giving Offence, a cause of Injustice 1, 9. *a cause of Mismanagement in Civil and Military Affairs* 1, 24. *it is the Duty of Modesty not to give Offence* 1, 28. *nothing to be done, that may offend the Eyes and Ears* 1, 35.

Offices

I N D E X.

- Offices a most useful and comprehensive Subject* 1, 2, 3.
 2. *who have a Right to discourse about them* 1, 2.
Old Age to be revered 1, 34, 41. *the Duties of it* 1, 34.
Opinion of the World concerning us not to be neglected 1, 28.
Oratory and Philosophy to be joined 1, 1.
Order in our Words and Actions 1, 40.
Orestes gives a Dinner to the People 2, 17.
Other Mens Affairs appears small to us, as things at a distance 1, 9. *we should mind by others what is becoming* 1, 42. *we can soonest see Faults in others* *ibid.*
Own: every one to keep in the Enjoyment of his own 2, 22. *own's Interest how far to be regarded* 3, 5, 10.

P.

- P***ain racks and torments us* 2, 10. *not the greatest Evil* 3, 29.
Pains should be proportioned to what we are about 1, 39.
Painters set their Works out to be viewed 1, 41.
Panætiæ, who he was 1, 2. *left his Work about Duties unfinished* 3, 2, 7.
Particulars; nothing to be done for them, that is a Damage to the Publick 2, 21. *should not have Interest separate from the Publick* 3, 6.
Parts; Men have several Parts to be acted 1, 30, 32.
Parts of the Body well fitted by Nature 1, 35.
Passion: Injuries done in a Passion less heinous than in cold Blood 1, 8. *should be governed by Reason* 1, 29, 36, 39. 2, 5. *disturb both Body and Mind* 1, 29. *to be shunned in Discourse* 1, 38. *nothing can be liked that is done in a Passion* *ibid.*
Pausanias, Spartan General 1, 22.
Paullus had all the Riches of Macedon 2, 22.
Pericles's Answer to Sophocles 1, 40. *is blamed by Phalereus* 2, 17.
People caressed, &c. 2, 16.
Peripateticks differ little from the Academicks 1, 1, 3, 4. *have a right to treat about Duties* 1, 2. *require a Mediocrity, and say Anger was given us to good Purposes*

I N D E X.

- poses* 1, 25. *their's a most noble and ancient Philosophy* 2, 2.
- Perjury; when a Man is guilty of it* 3, 29.
- Phaeton* 3, 25.
- Phalaris* 2, 7. 3, 6.
- Philip of Macedon, above his Son in good Nature* 1, 26. *advises his Son to speak kindly to the People* 2, 14. *rebukes him for giving them Money* 2, 15.
- Philip's Harangues in his Tribuneship* 2, 21. *his ill Council* 3, 22.
- Philosophers unjust in minding only their Studies* 1, 9. *relinquish the Publick* *ibid.* *their Method of rooting out Frauds* 3, 17. *none may assume that Name, without giving Rules about Duty* 1, 2. *their Study commended* 2, 2. *Philosophy a Comfort in Affliction* 2, 1, 2. *a rich and plentiful Soil* 3, 2. *the meaning of the word* 2, 2.
- Pirates ought to have no Faith kept with them* 3, 29. *cannot be without Justice* 2, 11.
- Place, its Influence on our Actions* 1, 40.
- Plato might have made an excellent Orator* 1, 1. *his saying, That Men are not born for themselves only* 1, 7. *his Mistake about the Philosophers* 1, 9. *his two Rules about Government* 1, 25. *his Saying about Ambition* *ibid.* *his excellent Saying about Prudence* 1, 10. *his Fable about Gyges* 3, 9.
- Plays and Recreations how far allowable* 1, 29. *Play at Even and Odd, &c.* 3, 19.
- Players choose the Parts fittest for them* 1, 31. *their respect to Modesty* 1, 35.
- Pleasures of Body beneath a Man* 1, 30.
- Pleasures are alluring Mistresses* 2, 10. *are contrary to Honesty* 3, 33. *may serve to give a relish to Actions* *ibid.* *should not be regarded in Eating, &c.* 1, 30.
- Poetical Decorum* 1, 28. *Poets set their Works out to be viewed* 1, 41.
- Polybius the Historian* 3, 32.
- Pompey Sext. a Geometrician* 1, 6.
- Pompey the Great, his Saying to Cicero* 1, 20. *his Party unsuccessful* 2, 13. *his magnificent Shows to the People* 2, 16.
- Pomponius the Tribune* 3, 31.

Pontius

I N D E X.

- Pontius C.** *the Samnite* 2, 21.
Poppilius *a Roman Commander* 1, 11.
Popular Expressions to be us'd 2, 10.
Power, the Desire of it draws Men to Injustice 3, 21.
Practice necessary to perfect a Man in Virtue 1, 18.
Precepts insufficient without Exercise *ibid.*
Present things more acceptable for a time 2, 17.
Pride in Prosperity to be avoided 1, 26.
Private Men should be kept in their Estates 2, 21.
Prodigal who 2, 16.
Profit the same with Honesty 2, 3, 3, 3, 7, 12, &c.
 moves all Men 3, 8. 28. *The Appearance of it makes*
 Men act contrary to Duty 3, 11. *ought to be rejected*
 ibid. every thing honest, profitable; and every thing
 profitable honest 3, 8.
Promises not always obliging 1, 10, 3, 24, 25.
Property, its Original 1, 7.
Prudence, the Duties resulting from it 1, 3. *Consists in*
 the Knowledge of Truth, and is most natural to Man
 1, 6. *of but little Worth without Justice* 1, 43. *dis-*
 ferent from Craft 1, 19, 2, 3, 3, 17. *a Definition of*
 it 1, 43. *makes Men confide in us, if joyn'd, &c.* 2, 9.
Publick Officers should be free from Passion, &c. 1, 20,
 25. *should see that what they undertake be honest* *ibid.*
 remember Plato's two Rules 1, 25. *a Description of a*
 good one *ibid.* *should be courteous, affable, &c.* *ibid.*
 do the bravest Actions 1, 26. *should guard their Eyes*
 as we'll as Hands 1, 40. *not to be resisted* 1, 41. *pub-*
 lick and private Life compared 1, 21.
Punishments; Rules to be observed about them 1, 15. *if*
 some escape them, others grow more insolent 2, 8.
Pyrrho *can give no Rules about Duty* 1, 2, 2, 2.
Phyrrhus *his Speech upon giving up the Prisoners* 1, 12. *a*
 Defenter offers to poyson him 1, 12, 3, 22.
Pythagoras 1, 17, 30.
Pythius, a Banker, &c. 3, 14.

R.

R *ashness in giving up our Assent to be avoided* 1, 6. 2,
 2. *in our Actions* 1, 29.

L 2

Reason

I N D E X.

- Reason ought to be the governing Faculty in Man* 1, 23.
Rebukes in Friendship 1, 17. *see Chiding.*
Regularity, see Uniformity.
Regulus taken by the Carthaginians, &c. 1, 3, 3, 26.
&c. Relations should be considered before other People
 1, 14, 16.
Republick, Cicero wrote six Books about it 2, 17.
Respect should be had for all Men 1, 28. *especially those*
we converse with 1, 35, 36, 38.
Retired People do very noble things 1, 26. *See Life.*
Revenge must be kept within Bounds 1, 11.
Rhetorick-Masters over-run all 1, 36.
Riches why desired 1, 8. *it is not enough to get, unless*
one know how to use them 2, 12. *neither to be kept too*
close or too open 2, 15. *the best Fruit of them* 2, 16.
are too much respected 2, 20. *to be got not for ourselves*
alone, &c. 3, 15. *are not profitable if accompanied with*
Infamy 3, 22. *See Avarice, Liberality.*
Romans famous for Courage 1, 18. *their ancient Ju-*
stice and Kindnesses to Allies when changed 2, 8. *ruin-*
ed by Tyranny and Oppression *ibid.*
Romulus did ill in killing Remus 3, 10.
Roscius Amerinus defended by Cicero 2, 14.
Rule, the Desire of it natural to Men 1, 4. *general Rule*
or Measure 3, 5.
Rutilius had the Name of an honest Man, &c. 2, 13.
Scholar of Panætius 3, 2.

S.

- S** *Alamis famous for a Victory* 1, 22.
Salmacis 1, 18.
Scævola gives more than was asked for an Estate 3, 15.
Pontifex Max. 3, 17.
Scepticks, their Opinion 2, 2.
Secrecy, nothing to be committed out of Hopes of it 3, 8, 9,
&c.
Self-love keeps Men from seeing their Duty 1, 9. *Nature al-*
lows a Man to love himself first 3, 5, 10. *but not to in-*
jure others for the sake of self *ibid.* 3, 6.

Seller

I N D E X.

- Seller bound to tell the Faults of his Goods* 3, 12, 33, &c.
should use no Arts to enhance their Price 3, 15.
Serious things to be handled seriously 1, 37, 40.
Shows to the People, how far allowable 2, 16, 17.
Sincerity agreeable to Man's Nature 1, 4.
Singing openly a great Rudeness 1, 40.
Slaves how to be dealt with 1, 13, 2, 7. *Tricks in selling them punished* 3, 17.
Society; the Principles, Sorts, and Degrees of it 1, 16, 17.
nothing that Man should be more concerned for 1, 43.
Man by Nature sociable 1, 44. *Necessity not the Motive to Society* *ibid.* *Duties of it of several Degrees, in what Order to be performed* 1, 43. *Universal Society of what Nature* 3, 12.
Socrates facetious and drolling 1, 30. *of extraordinary Virtues* 1, 41. *his shortest Cut to Glory* 2, 12, 13. *used to curse those that separate Profit and Honesty* 3, 13.
Solon, Athenian Law-giver 1, 22. *his Craft*, 30.
Sons should live as becomes the Name of their Ancestors 1, 22, 23. *do not both with their Fathers* 1, 15.
Sophocles the Tragedian 1, 40.
Soul's Functions more noble than the Bodies 2, 13.
Speech, see Discourse.
State, how to be supported 2, 7, 8, 3, 22.
Stiles of Eloquence and Philosophy to be both cultivated 1, 1.
Stoicks; Cicero follows them in this Book 1, 2. *great Admirers of Derivations* 1, 8. *their chief Good, &c.* 3, 3.
Strangers Duties in a Place 1, 34. *a difference to be made between them* 1, 41. *should not be forbid a City* 3, 11.
Study not to be spent upon obscure and difficult Subjects 1, 7. *the end of it* *ibid.* *should give Place to Action*, 1, 4, 6, 43, 44, 45.
Subject of a Discourse must be first explained 1, 2. *different Subjects require different ways of Expression* 2, 10.
Subjects of common Discourse 1, 37.
Sulpitius an Astronomer 1, 6. *an Orator accuses Norbanus* 2, 14.
Summum jus, summa injuria 1, 10.
Swearing upon one's Conscience 3, 16. *my Tongue swore, but, &c.* 3, 29.

Sylla

I N D E X.

Sylla [*Lucius's*] *inhuman Victory* 2, 8.
Sylla [*Pub.*] *Kinsman to the former* *ibid.*

T.

Taking away what is another's, a breach of Justice 1;
7. most contrary to Nature 3, 5. 6. taking away
from one and giving to another, no Liberality 1, 14. no
good Man will take from another to enrich himself 3, 19.
Talk, see Discourse.
Taxes, the People not to be burthened with them 2, 21.
Tax-gatherers hated 1, 42.
Ten Men sent by Hannibal to Rome, &c. 1, 13, 3, 32.
Temperance 1, 5. the Duties of it must not always give
place to those of Justice 1, 45. and Sobriety adorn a
young Man 2, 13. nothing profitable that is contrary to
it 3, 33.
Tenths paid to the Gods 2, 17.
Terence's Chremes 1, 9.
Thebe Wife of Tyrant Alexander 2, 7.
Themistocles 1, 22. his Opinion about marrying a Daugh-
ter 2, 20. his Proposal to the Athenians 3, 11.
Theophrastus 1, 1. his Book about Riches 2, 16. praises
Hospitality 2, 18.
Theseus's Wish granted by Neptune 1, 10, 3, 25.
Thieves cannot subsist without Justice 2, 11.
Thinking; the End of it 1, 6. a good Man will not think
what he is ashamed should be known 3, 19.
Thracians branded 2, 7.
Time and Place make Actions good or bad 1, 40.
Trades, which creditable, &c. 1, 42. Tradesmen should
avoid lying 1, 42. be just 2, 11.
Treachery, &c. contrary to Reason 3, 17.
Truce for thirty Days 1, 10.
Trust: how Men are induced to trust us 2, 9. Trusts not
always to be restored 3, 25.
Truth, the Love of it natural to Man 1, 4, 30. two
Faults in search of it to be avoided 1, 6.
Tyrants generally come to ill Ends 2, 7. to kill them count-
ed glorious among the Romans 3, 4. are Enemies of hu-
man Society 3, 6. lead miserable Lives 3, 31.

I N D E X.

V.

Vituals : Pleasure should not be regarded in them 1,
30.

Viriathus, the Lusitanian Robber 2, 11.

Virtue alone, or at least chiefly, desirable 1, 2, 3, 7.

Virtues all connected 1, 5. 2, 10. forces us to love the Persons that possess it 1, 17. 2, 9. its principal Office to procure the Love of Men 2, 5. consists in three things *ibid.* moves Men's Admiration 2, 10. when it appears with greatest Splendor *ibid.* scorns affinity with Pleasure 3, 33. see *Honesty*.

Ulysses of a Temper to undergo any thing 1, 31. would have avoided the War 3, 26.

Unable : those who are unable to exercise some Virtues, should take the more care to get others 1, 33.

Ungrateful Men hated by all 2, 18.

Uniformity of Life, whence it arises 1, 31, 40, is most becoming *ibid.*

Unjust : those who spend their Lives in Contemplation are so 1, 9. and those who mind no body's Business but their own *ibid.*

Voice should be clear and harmonious, &c. 1, 37.

Voluntary : no true Virtue, that is not so 1, 9.

Usurers hated 1, 42. Cato's Opinion of Usury 2, 25.

W.

Want : we should be most liberal to those that want most, &c. 1, 15. 2, 18.

War : Laws of it to be observed 1, 11. 3, 29. may be undertaken ; but it must be for the sake of Peace 1, 11, 23. the Management of it less glorious than Civil Prudence 1, 22. Courage in it recommends a young Man 2, 13.

Ways two, of Pleasure and Virtue 1, 32.

Wicked : to be so, never profitable 3, 15.

Will forged of Minut. Basilus, &c. 3, 18.

Wisdom, which the chief 1, 43. the Definition and Commendation of it 2, 2. to be often with wise Men, recommends

I N D E X.

recommends a young Man 2, 13. *a wise Man not wise for himself, good for nothing* 3, 15.
Work-house can have nothing gentile in it 1, 42.
World, we should endeavour to be well thought of by all the World 1, 28.

X.

X *Antippus the Lacedæmonian* 3, 26.
Xenocrates the severest Philosopher 1, 30.
Xenophon's OEconomicks translated by Cicero 2, 24.

Y.

Y *oung Men: the Duties of them* 1, 34. *how they should make themselves taken Notice of in the World* 2, 13.
are not envied, but rather encouraged, ibid.

Z.

Z *eno holds Virtue to be the only Good,* 3, 8.

6 MA 50

F I N I S.

